

Current Perspectives in the Archaeology of Ghana

Editors:

James Anquandah

Benjamin Kankpeyeng

Wazi Apoh



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA READERS

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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE STUDIES

SOCIAL SCIENCES SERIES VOL 6



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA READERS

First published in Ghana 2014 for THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

by **Sub-Saharan Publishers**

P.O.Box 358

Legon-Accra

Ghana

Email: saharanp@africaonline.com.gh

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website:<http://www.ug.edu.gh>

ISBN: 978-9988-8602-3-3

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Foreword

The University of Ghana is celebrating this year the sixty-fifth anniversary of its founding. In all those years, lecturers and researchers of the university have contributed in quite significant ways to the development of thought and to the analysis of critical issues for different aspects of Ghanaian and African society. The celebration of the anniversary provides an appropriate opportunity for reflection on the contributions that Legon academics have made to the intellectual development of Ghana and Africa. That is what this Readers Project is about.

In the early years of the University, all the material that was used to teach students came largely from the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe. Most of the thinking in all disciplines was largely Eurocentric. The material that was used to teach students was mainly European, as indeed were many of the people teaching the students. The norms and standards against which students were assessed were influenced largely by European values. The discussions that took place in seminar and lecture rooms were driven largely by what Africa could learn from Europe.

The 1960s saw a major 'revision' in African intellectual development as young African academics began to question received ideas against a backdrop of changing global attitudes in the wake of political independence. Much serious writing was done by African academics as their contribution to the search for new ways of organizing their societies. African intellectuals contributed to global debates in their own right and sometimes developed their own material for engaging with their students and the wider society.

Since the late 1970s universities in the region and their academics have struggled to make their voices heard in national and global debates. In a context of economic stagnation and political disarray, many of the ideas for managing African economies and societies have come from outside. These ideas have often come with significant financial backing channeled through international organizations and governments. During the period, African governments saw themselves as having no reason to expect or ask for any intellectual contribution

from their own academics. This was very much the case in Ghana, as indeed in most African countries.

The story is beginning to change in many African universities. The Readers Project at the University of Ghana, Legon is an attempt to document the different ideas that have influenced various disciplines over many years. Through collections of short essays, they are also an illustration of the debates that have emerged over the years. They show the work of Legon academics and their collaborators in various disciplines as they have sought to introduce their students to new ideas. Our expectation is that this will mark a new beginning of solid engagement between Legon and other academics as they document their thoughts and contributions to the continuing search for new ideas to shape our world.

We gratefully acknowledge a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York that has made the publication of this series of Readers possible.

Ernest Aryeetey

Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana.

Legon, August 2013

Chapter 1

Archaeology of Ghana: An Introduction

James Anquandah, Benjamin Kankpeyeng and Wazi Apoh

Introduction

In a recent paper by Prof J. Anquandah (n.d), one of the first Ghanaian trained archaeologists in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies University of Ghana, he points out that “Western written documentation on Ghana’s past has superficial time-depth going only as far back as the 15th century A.D. This gave the impression, in historical terms, of a country of utter darkness in pre-European times.” This erroneous biased impression and distortions enhanced by missionaries and colonial ideologies has however been systematically corrected through the effort of the pioneers and current scholars of archaeology in the University of Ghana. However, in a lot of ways such stereotypic perception of Ghana has created a negative imprint in the mindset of Ghanaians to the point where they no longer value their past heritage. The work of archeologists in unearthing the past of Ghana since the 1820s in addition to the use of multivariate sources such as oral accounts, ethnographies and art history to a large extent, has provided tangible data that afford an authentic reconstruction of the long-range time depth of Ghana’s past heritage dating to 10, 000 years ago and even to the Middle Palaeolithic Era which is characterized by the Sangoanlithic tradition. This Departmental Reader traces the evolution of the discipline and presents an array of themes, perspectives, and methods that Ghanaian and select EuroAmerican scholars have deployed in documenting past lifeways of Ghana; spanning the prehistoric period to contemporary periods .

Among new nations of the world, such as Ghana, there is continual struggle for survival in a highly competitive global settings. As such, priorities are put on the development of key areas and essentials of society-food, shelter, health, security, social welfare, communication, governance, education. Even in the sphere of education and the quest for knowledge, subject areas are mentally prioritized. Politics, economics, medicine, the natural sciences, engineering, law and

information technology are accorded precedence and pride of place. On the other hand, history and heritage studies are invariably ranked low in the hierarchy of disciplines. It is no wonder, therefore that taking all levels of public and private institutions of education into consideration, the University of Ghana, Legon, is today almost the only place where archaeology and heritage studies is seriously pursued as an academic discipline.

In every sphere of life, including the production and dissemination of knowledge, present and future developments are invariably founded on what existed before. As they say, today is the tomorrow of yesterday! In nearly all African societies, there are informal custodians of traditional histories and cultural heritage. As such history information has been transmitted down the generations by indigenes chiefly through oral accounts which are, however, often marked by distortions and myths. What was needed to overcome these problems related to heritage documentation was a source, method, or tool of study that would minimize information distortion and also project heritage studies upstream into the distant past. It was with this in mind that in the late 1940s the designers of the curricula of the University College of the Gold Coast deemed it prudent to include the subject of archaeology in the first batch of academic disciplines earmarked for research and teaching and learning at the new College.

Archaeology came to Ghana as part of the baggage and legacy of western acculturation and system of education. It has its own limitations and draw-backs, especially as regards the extent of data preservation and also the personal bias of the archaeologist's mindset and beliefs that creep into the record in the process of interpretation of the data. However, it seemed to the pioneers of Tertiary education in the then Gold Coast that here was the precise "tool" of scholarship that could be adopted for verifiable scientific documentation of heritage; especially since it exhibited capacity for long range exploration into the very distant past.

Archaeology has to do with the study of the past, including the distant and relative 'recent' past. Its principal source of data comprises tangible material residues related in some way to human life. Archaeology entails the process of uncovering, examining, recording and

analyzing the contents of an ancient site, its artefacts, technofacts, manuports, ecofacts and features. The archaeologist seeks to ascertain what light such residues can shed on vicissitudes of behaviour and experiences over time and space. Some scholars view archaeology as the backward projection in time, or “the past tense,” of history, anthropology, geography, sociology and contemporary culture. Indeed, archaeology shares with various social science subjects the common goal of facilitating understanding and enrichment of human experience, and also stimulate consciousness of the brotherhood of peoples throughout history. Like history, archaeology has a time dimension although its chronological range goes well beyond history’s boundaries and extends to over one million years.

The question has been posed as to whether archaeology is a science. Archaeology adopts scientific attitudes and its practitioners seek to collaborate with scholars of the natural sciences to obtain assistance in the identification of discoveries emanating from sites and also for dating by scientific methods. This however, hardly warrants identifying archaeology as a core natural science discipline because the replicative character of the methods and results of scientific experiments is indeed a far cry from that of archaeology. There is no doubt at all that archaeology has a unique identity that makes it totally different from all other disciplines. This is evident in the array of major canons of archaeological practice.

What is the *raison d'être* or justification for archaeological practice? Why do some people choose to take up this peculiar profession which to others seems to involve risks, hardships, apparent boredom, inconveniences etc? Archaeologists regard their profession as a fascinating and exciting “calling” and passion that drives them to discover more and more about past events. The questions that constantly engage their minds are: what happened in the past? When, where, why, how (or by what process) did they happen? And who were involved? For Archaeologists in Ghana, the discipline provides opportunity to employ unique research design to decode from data buried in the earth; the cryptic unwritten past of societies that lacked writing until the introduction of foreign alphabets. Above all, for Ghanaian archaeologists, philosophically, the discipline signals African consciousness.

Black Africa's greatest wealth and most important "export" are seen in culture, past and present. In charting the vicissitudes of prehistory and history, not so much from books and ideas imported from external sources but by direct excavation from Ghana's native virgin earth, Ghana's archaeologists seem to be saying: "We prefer to put premium on our own home grown paradigms, independent thinking, creativity and inventiveness. This way we expect to infuse the richness of the past as manure/fertilizer into our future lifestyle."

Archaeological Developments in Ghana: A Historical Outline

The narrative of the inception and evolution of the discipline in Ghana may be viewed, as it were, through the "windows" of four arbitrary time periods as follows:

*Era of amateur explorers, collectors and speculators
(1820s– 1930s);*

Era of the foundations of scientific archaeology (1930s–1960s);

*Era of the expansion of the academic discipline (1970s–1980s)
and the*

Era of Applied Developmental archaeology (1990s – 2010s).

The era of Amateur Explorers, Collectors and Speculators (1820-1930s).

A host of amateur documentalists of prehistoric data in Ghana followed in the trail of Monrad, Zimmermann and Reade, including antiquarians such as Robert Rattray (1923), N.R. Junner (1931), R.P. Wild (1934) and H.J. Braunholtz (1936). It was thanks to them that samples of numerous cultural collections sourced from cuttings in road and railway construction, building works, mining and dredging and farming enterprises were deposited at the British Museum and also at the Gold Coast Geological survey centre in Cornwall Gardens, London. H.J. Braunholtz's published data on these collections appeared in the British Journal of *Antiquity*, and Captain R.P. Wild, Inspector of Mines,

published similar articles in local journals- *Gold Coast Review* and *Gold Coast Teachers' Journal* (Wild 1934/35). All of these facilitated dissemination in Europe and Ghana on information about the earliest archaeological discoveries from Ghana. In 1936, Braunholtz published an article in *Antiquity* that sounded almost like a “prophecy.” He pointed out that “it is clear that there is here a large interesting and almost untouched field awaiting the spade of the trained archaeologist.” The following year, the late Thurstan Shaw, a trained archaeologist from the University of Cambridge was appointed as a lecturer at Achimota College and later became the curator of Ghana’s first Museum of anthropology and archaeology at the Achimota College Campus.

The Era of Foundations of “Scientific Archaeology” (1930s – 1960s)

From his pioneering work one may, with some justification, refer to Thurstan Shaw as “the father of Ghanaian Archaeology.” He noted in his *Memoirs* (Shaw 1990) that he was guided by two principal objectives, each of which contributed to the realization of the other. Firstly, he sought to gather all available archaeological evidence and secondly, sought to create and increase as widely as possible an awareness of the archaeological dimension for engaging in research on Ghana’s past. He argued that the more archaeological evidence there was to present, and disseminate, the greater there was of the possibility of increasing awareness among people throughout the country and as a result, there would be a greater inflow of information from the public related to finds and sites.

In 1940, Shaw carried out scientific excavation in the prehistoric Bosumpra rockshelter at Kwahu Abetifi and unearthed an assemblage of microliths, ground stone axes, pottery and faunal remains of unknown age. Later when radiocarbon dating method was invented, archaeologist Andrew Smith was able to obtain dates of 4th millennium B.C for the oldest materials at Bosumpra (Shaw, 1944, Smith 1975). In 1942, Shaw conducted another major excavation at an ancient rubbish mound at Dawu Akuapem, a site which was similarly dated by radiocarbon after the Second World War to the 15th century A.D. Shaw’s works included systematic collection, cataloguing and

display of heritage materials at the Achimota Museum. In addition, he promoted archaeology through lectures at colleges and schools, publication of articles in the print media and lecture series on Accra Radio. His publications on the excavations he conducted with very limited resources are a marvel even to present-day archaeologists as they were highly detailed and of high quality and so have served as models for up-and-coming archaeologists.

The decades immediately before and after Ghana's independence witnessed major developments as much in educational and cultural sectors as well as in politics and economics. Thus the period attracted to Ghana archaeologists trained in Western Universities or related Antiquities Services, whose work contributed significantly to the process of laying strong "infrastructure" for archaeology in Ghana. Among these were A.W. Lawrence (1951-1956), O. Davies (1952-1966), P.L. Shinnie (1957 – 1966), P.C. Ozanne (1962 – 1966), R.N. York, D. Mathewson and C. Flight (1960s). These professionals were Researchers/Lecturers at the Department of Archaeology which was established since 1951 at Legon. Their principal objectives were to extend the frontiers of knowledge on Ghana's past by engaging in "pure/basic" archaeological research and the dissemination of their findings through publications, museum displays, conference presentations and training and teaching of prospective local archaeologists. Thanks to these scholars, several hundred ancient sites were surveyed and a number were selected for limited excavations. Sites investigated include prehistoric sites like the Legon Botanical Gardens, Kintampo Chukoto, Ntereso and Christian's Village (Achimota). The later sites include Ahinsan, Ayawaso, Buipe, Ladoku, Jakpawuase, Nyanaoase and Mampongтин.

In 1951, A.W. Lawrence, a Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University was appointed as Professor of the Archaeology Department at the University of Ghana and also as Curator and Director of Ghana's National Museum. Lawrence used his immense fund of knowledge and experience in architectural history to document the extant European forts and castles located along Ghana's coastline. His book entitled *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (1963) is a rich repository of information derived from European archival sources as

well as on-the-spot careful examination, measurement and documentation (in writing, photography and drawing) of the historic buildings. From the 1990s, when the subject of the international slave route became the vogue of historical scholarship, Lawrence's book has served as a major standard reference source.

In 1952, Oliver Davies brought to Legon his experience from archaeological work in Ireland and S. Africa. For 14 years he traversed Ghana, surveying and documenting archaeological findings at hundreds of sites. His most important contribution to Ghana's archaeology comprises his research and publication on "Stone Age" archaeology especially his documentations on raised beaches, river terraces and lake sediments. Data from various key sites which he investigated, for instance, Asokrochona, Hohoe, Legon Botanical Gardens, Kintampo, Limbisi and Ntereso served as a point of reference for later archaeologists. His books, *Quaternary in the Coastlands of Guinea* (1964) and *West Africa before the Europeans* (1967) are very useful in terms of subject matter, even though the style of writing makes heavy reading and some of his prehistoric terminologies are outdated.

In 1957, a new National Museum was opened in Accra using half of the collections deposited at Legon from the Achimota College Museum of Anthropology. P.L. Shinnie became Professor of the Department of Archaeology, bringing to his task immense know-how from the Oxford University, Sir Mortimer Wheeler's expeditions and many years of rich experience of Nile Valley archaeology. His nine years stint at Legon was marked by significant academic developments. These include: a) a period of teaching of archaeology as a course at the History Department and b) the introduction of a two-year professional post graduate diploma course in archaeology. As a result of this a number of facilities were set up that have survived until today, namely; a library, scientific laboratory, photographic studio, and museum teaching collections.

A major archaeological salvage scheme was mounted in 1963-1970 as part of the University's Volta Basin multi-disciplinary research programme. The Department's new appointees R.N. York, D. Mathewson and Colin Flight led by O. Davies carried out significant scientific excavations at about 48 sites located in the Volta and Northern Regions of Ghana that were to be inundated by the creation

of the Volta Lake through the Akosombo Dam construction. The total findings was published in a booklet; *Archaeology of the Flooded Volta Basin* (O. Davies 1971). This promoted the Department's mission of "extending the frontiers of Archaeological knowledge" in Ghana. In addition, the University in collaboration with the Ghana Government, financed a three –year archaeological research expedition to Debeira West in Nubia as part of the UNESCO international scheme to save African heritage sites due to be inundated by the Nile Floods created by the construction of the Aswan High Dam. The Debeira expedition led by P.L. Shinnie did not only provide archaeological training for three Ghanaian up-and-coming academics. It also brought to Ghana 50% of the total archaeological findings as a donation from the Sudanese Government. These provided a boost to the Legon Department's Museum artifact teaching collections and also the National Museum collections at Accra. The publication of the expedition's findings in P.L. Shinnie and Margaret Shinnie's book (1978) certainly constituted a major contribution of the University of Ghana to world heritage scholarship.

Era of the Expansion of the Academic Discipline (1970s-1980s)

From the standpoint of both research and knowledge dissemination, the 1970s and 1980s constituted a critical phase in the development of heritage studies. Thanks to the bold initiative of Professor Merrick Posnansky in 1968/69, the Department embarked upon a Bachelor of Arts degree programme and in 1971/72 academic year, a Master's degree programme in archaeology took off at Legon and then to crown it all, in 1979/80, the University of Ghana awarded a PhD degree in archaeology for the first time to a Ghanaian. In the late 1980s, the B.A. degree programme was restructured to include a number of courses that equipped and "groomed" students upon graduation to take on jobs related to heritage pursuits, teaching history in schools and Museum work.

As practical field work is a key component in the training of archaeologists, the establishment of B.A and MA degree programmes in the 1970s and 80s led to significant expansion and diversification

of research activities of the Department of Archaeology. Lecturers and Research Fellows were obliged to mount “field schools” for students during vacation periods to provide training in field and laboratory work, and students were examined on the lessons taught. Quite apart from the researches mounted to train students, academic staff engaged in individual research work for the advancement of scholarship. Unlike the period before the 1970s, when field research was often on an *ad hoc* basis, research in the 1970s and 80s became more systematic and purposeful and was geared to specific objectives and research designing based on thematic patterns such as Pleistocene technology and subsistence, Metallurgy, Agricultural origins, Ekistics and Urbanism, Long-distance trade patterns, Art History and Ethnoarchaeology.

The impact of research expansionism is reflected in the record of publications in local and foreign journals and books. The notable publications include those by Anquandah (1982 1986) Effah-Gyamfi (1985), Boachie-Ansah (1986), Crossland (1989), Shinnie and Kense (1989), Stahl (1985), Bellis (1972), Garrard (1980), Posnansky (1984, 1987) and Bredwa-Mensah (1990). Academic linkages with overseas institutions served as an avenue for the exchange of academic staff who brought new ideas, technologies and skills through lectures and “field schools” organized in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology. Among the outstanding “field schools” were those organized by M. Posnansky at Begho in the late 1970s and 1980s following his departure from Legon to U.C.L.A., California. The Department’s Library was a great beneficiary of these visiting programmes as each visitor brought a consignment of current archaeology books and journals. Above all, the two decades constituted a critical transition era in terms of the Department’s staff development and deployment. The period witnessed the exit of about six expatriate lecturers and their replacement by four Ghanaian lecturers, one of whom, James Anquandah, became the first Ghanaian substantive Head of Department of Archaeology in the mid-1980s.

Era of Applied/Developmental Archaeology (1990s-Present)

In the early 1990s, a major target of the Ghana Government's "economic recovery programme" was the nurturing and development of Tourism as a national "product" or "industry" that would rank third after cocoa and gold production as source of revenue. It was precisely at this time that the Central Region Administration at Cape Coast conceptualized and initiated a pilot programme geared at poverty alleviation and vigorous income generation. The plan was based on what appeared at the time to be somewhat ephemeral "pillars" of the natural and cultural heritage resources of the region. The scheme and "mission" entailed the conservation and rehabilitation of the dilapidated structures of the Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle and Fort Coenraadsburg (St. Jago) and also the creation of a Heritage Museum in the two castles featuring exhibition on the materials derived from the researches (De Corse 2001). In 1993–95, the Department of Archaeology at Legon played a major role in the development of the Cultural Museum of Cape Coast castle themed "Cross-roads of Trade, Crossroads of People", as well as the Museum of Elmina Castle themed "Images of Elmina across the centuries." The CEDECOM heritage development experiment turned out to be a success, and other Regional Administrations in Ghana sought to replicate the Central Region model.

In 1999, UNESCO (Paris and Accra) in conjunction with the Ghana Government set up the "National Slave Route Project" based at the Ministry of Tourism, Accra. The project committee which included researchers and documentalists from the Legon Department of Archaeology and History Department were mandated to carry out heritage research countrywide so as to reveal the hitherto concealed data related to the historic slave traffic; and to disseminate the findings through book publications. At Legon, the sub-discipline of "Historical Archaeology" whose canons had held sway in the Central Region research, became the vogue after year 2000. There was, thereafter, both in staff and post-graduate student researches, a shift in emphasis from "pure" research to "applied/developmental" research. The focus of "applied" research has been on historic and heritage sites and is geared to

producing results that can be readily “injected” into the development of educational, cultural heritage and economic-oriented programmes that would interest and attract tourists and allied clientele.

A series of “applied” research projects undertaken by Ghanaian staff and graduate students of archaeology since year 2000 include those conducted at Fort Crevecoeur/Ussher (2000), Fort Elize Carthago (2001), Frederiksgave Plantation, Abokobi (2002), Krobo Hills settlement (2004-2006), Jenini slave market, Brong (2004), Fort Amsterdam (2006) Fort St. Anthony, Axim (2008), Fort William, Anomabu (2009) Fort Fredensburg, Ningo (2010), Basel Mission Sanatorium, Aburi (2011), Fort Ruychaver and Fort Ankobra/Elize Carthago (2011-2012), Koma/Bulsa sites (2007-2012), Fort Metal Cross (2010), Kpando German colonial sites (2005-present), Adome-Atimpoku (2010-present), Bui Dam Salvage Archaeology (2009-2012) and the Kintampo-Paga Highway Archaeological Survey (2009). Archaeological investigations in the 1990s -2010s, especially regarding the application of scientific methods, have benefited immensely through linkages with western academic institutions as they provided facilities for scientific analyses related to chronometric dating, identification of trace element in artefacts by means of neutron activation, identification of ancient biological remains by phytolith method, and identification of subterranean materials through magnetometer/electrical resistivity surveys.

In the first decade of the 21st century, the Department was redesignated as “the Department of Archaeology and Heritage studies.” The objective for the change was to broaden the scope and base of the discipline and to make it more down-to-earth and more meaningful to the lay public. Also, the curriculum for the degree programmes was restructured and diversified to include “student friendly” courses such as social, cultural, forensic, visual and economic anthropology. The emphasis given to heritage studies and the increasing use of multi-disciplinary approaches in both teaching and research has had a salutary impact on the “marketing” of the subject. The number of students registering for first year archaeology courses has increased exponentially, sometimes reaching the 500s, a staggering figure compared to that of the 1970s and 1980s!

Essence of the Thematic Section in this Departmental Reader

The arrangement of papers in this Departmental Reader under various themes is a testament to current perspectives and the evolution of the focus of archeologists in Ghana. Under the theme of prehistory of Ghana, two exemplary research works have been selected. As an excavation report undertaken in the Asaman/Brakwa area of Central Region, Boachie-Ansah's findings are placed in the context of the ongoing debate on the timing of the era of the Akan forest occupation and settlement in the pre-colonial era. He points out that the archaeological record at the site is suggestive of a long uninterrupted occupation by a sedentary population. This showed that complex societies existed in the forests of southern Ghana before the Atlantic contact period. Stahl and Logan explore the dynamism and resiliency of village life in the Banda area of the western Volta River basin to trace both continuities and changes in settlement, crafting, food ways and other cultural practices over the last eight centuries.

In terms of current archaeological approaches, a number of scholars are using cutting edge techniques to unearth the past of Ghana. Notably, Osei demonstrates that through the use of historical GIS, series of good illustrations in principle can be achieved by showing the usefulness of user-determined visual displays. He combines spatial overlays and overview maps, data tables, site photos, videos, historical maps and engravings or texts in presenting the history of the slave trade in Ghana. The use of underwater archaeological techniques to unearth political economic entanglements off the coast of Ghana is the focus of Cook's paper. He presents an overview of recent research by several archaeologists as part of the Syracuse University's Central Region Project which has resulted in the discovery of a shipwreck offshore of Elmina, in Ghana. Gender archaeological studies have been in mainstream anthropological discussions around the globe. However this paper by Eyifa-Dzidzienyo and Kankpeyeng examines the study of gender in the archaeology of Ghana. The first author being one of the first Ghanaian trained female archaeologist and her colleague reveal how Ghanaian archaeologists have employed concepts of gender with

backing from ethnographic and historic materials to interpret and trace the different gender roles and gender relations in the present and past societies. Through the use of linguistic anthropological techniques, Abrampah discusses certain linguistic forms in Yeji that emanated from Yeji's involvement in the 18th century salt trade. This is important in understanding the relationship between the salt trade and the transformation of language and other aspects of culture at Yeji in Ghana.

The section on historical archaeological studies in Ghana showcases three select papers to provide insights into case studies, debates, interpretation and presentation of historical archaeological relics and remains currently being worked on in Ghana. DeCorse's chapter provides a review of the origins of historical archaeology and then examines its varied applications in West Africa by paying attention to how researchers frame their research, the questions they ask, and how our views of the past are constructed. Apoh's paper attempts to archaeo-historically explore the extent to which the Akwamu and Asante hegemony as well as the German and British colonial administrations manifested their colonial rule at Kpando and its environs. Through the examination of the colonial relics and residues, he shows how the Kpando-Todzi site exemplify a microcosmic cultural zone where the dual metropolitan constructed colonial policies were experimented with in ensuring hegemonic control over the indigenes and their indigenous institutions and products. Through the analysis of architectural design and spatial configuration/articulation of Christiansborg Castle and archaeological analysis of finds from Fort Metal Cross in Ghana, Wellington and Biveridge reveal the significance of engaging in strategic interpretation and presentation of tangible cultural heritage remains in Ghana. This is meant to encourage the understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites in Ghana.

Archaeological studies in Ghana cannot be complete without an in-depth examination of the art history of Ghana. This is because Ghana is filled with a unique array of crafts that have their genesis in the prehistoric period. Anquandah argues for a multi-cultural approach to studies on "art" and aesthetics" in past and present African and Ghanaian contexts. Through his survey of data on "artistic"

representation attested in archaeological contexts in Ghana from the 4th millennium B.C., he discusses the strengths and weaknesses entailed in the relative usage of archaeological, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, art historic and archival sources for purposes of achieving insight and unraveling socio-cultural meanings embedded in “artistic” representations. Atsutse and Apoh take this initiative further by anthropologically comparing Ghana’s two unique kente weaving traditions. They further make the call for the establishment of a kente museum in Ghana in order to moderate the commercialization of the intellectual property of the indigenous weavers.

An archaeological examination of ritual sites in the southern part of Ghana is not new (see Field 1937; Apoh and Gavua 2010). However Insoll and Kankpeyeng’s paper assesses fragmentation and practice-based approaches to ritual, divination, and healing as interpretive ways in which the archaeology of indigenous religions; more specifically, the archaeology of Islam in Northern Ghana was achieved.

The applied dimension of archaeological and cultural heritage management practices in Ghana is the focus of this last section of the reader. Drawing on the results of work carried out by Gavua and Nutor at Dzake-Peki in the Volta Region, an attempt is made to show that while pursuing the scientific and intellectual goals of archaeology, there should be an effective dissemination of archaeological information to the public. They reiterate the point that the use of archaeology for social and cultural development is the way forward to making archaeology relevant to the public interest and to enhancing public understanding and acceptance of the discipline in Ghana. Nkumbaan and Gblerkpor also review the development of the discipline of cultural resource management (CRM) in Ghana. They highlight existing legislative instruments and the key issues of CRM to update readers on current developments in Ghana. Eyifa-Dzidzienyo explores the ramifications of museum collections in Ghana. She focuses on the Museum of Archaeology in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies and other museums at the University of Ghana, Legon as sources of education and entertainment on audience experiences in the museum context. She points out that in spite of the

presence of these museums with diverse collections; there is limited public understanding and patronage of them.

On the same theme, Gblerkpor and Nkumbaan examine various ways that communities and groups continue to adapt so that archaeological knowledge can be used to construct, maintain, and propagate their specific political, social, and religious agendas. Through the examination of the findings from the Krobo Mountain project and other case studies, the authors make a strong case for promoting an appreciation of 'indigenous' archaeological sites.

Conclusion

Archaeology is a vital academic discipline of utmost importance. This is because it entails the creation of knowledge on Ghana's past by resorting to the unique method of unearthing and examining material residues of past populations so as to document and preserve information on Ghana's history and heritage. Each individual ethnic or social group in the world, irrespective of its physical, economic, cultural or demographic character is entitled to have its peculiar lifestyle and history documented as a contribution to the story of the wider global human experience. If so, Ghana's own contribution to that experience can hardly be ignored or slighted.

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Chapter 2

Excavations at an Earthwork Site at Asaman and Their Implications for the Archaeology of the Forest Areas of Southern Ghana

J. Boachie-Ansah

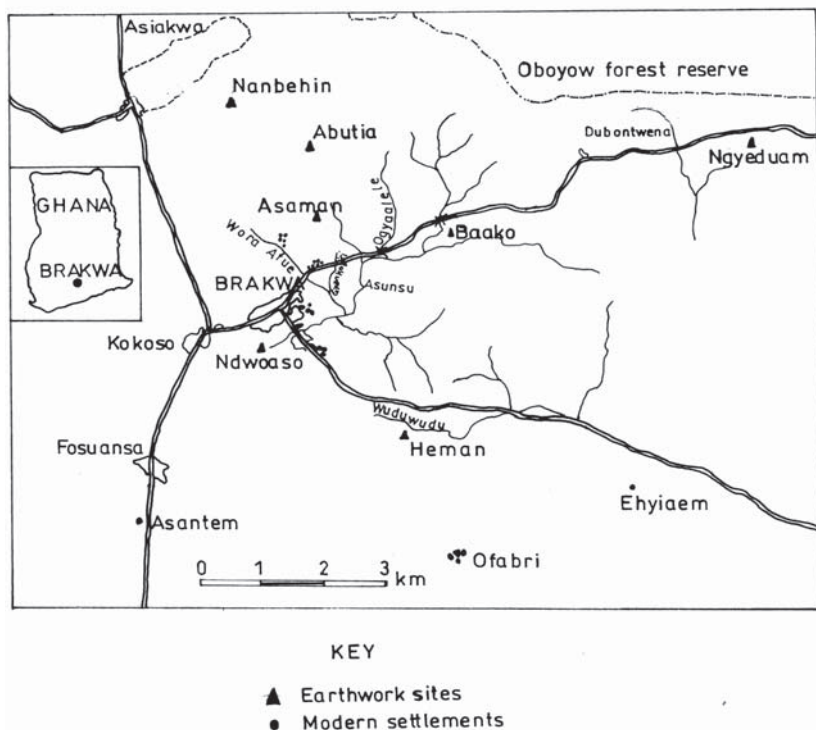
Introduction

From 12th to 25th June, 2009 and from 25th August to 7th September, 2010 the author, Fritz Biveridge and B.M. Murey conducted reconnaissance survey and excavations in the Brakwa area of the Asikuma-Brakwa-Odobin District of the Central Region of Ghana. Four sites not mentioned in the literature on earthworks sites in Ghana namely Abutia (5° 43' 8" N, 0° 58' 7" W), 3 km north-east of the town of Brakwa; Baako (5° 43' 3" N, 0° 57' 6" W), 4.5 km north-east of Brakwa; Ndwoaso (5° 41' 5" N, 0° 59' 4" W), 1.5 km directly south of Brakwa, and Heman (5° 41' 4" N, 0° 58' 5" W), a little below 2 km south-east of Brakwa were located and mapped during the reconnaissance (see Map 2.1). Excavations were also conducted at Asaman (5° 43' 1" N, 0° 58' 7" W) located about 135 m above sea level in a moist semi-deciduous forest about 2.1 km north-east of Brakwa (see Map 2.1) and within the wettest climatic area in Ghana, the South-Western Equatorial Climatic Region (see Dickson and Benneh 1970: 32-40). The excavations (see Figs. 2.1 and 2.2) were conducted to ascertain the date of the settlement and indirectly of the development of social complexity in the area. This paper is a preliminary report on the work done at Asaman and it is hoped that a full report will be published when the analysis of the 2010 excavations is completed.

Site Survey

With the help of seven workmen using two Garmin GPS equipment, the research team, surveyed the major feature on the site, an elliptical earthwork whose inner and outer walls enclose an area of 2.1 ha and 2.4 ha respectively. The entrenchment has two banks with a ditch

between them. The workmen were divided into two groups. Led by one member of the research team with a GPS, the first group walked over the inner bank, while the second group, led by another member of the research team with another GPS, walked over the outer bank. Some portions of the site were bushy and difficult to penetrate. The bushy areas were cleared by the workmen at the same time as the ground reconnaissance took place. The thick accumulation of dead leaves on the ground made it difficult for surface finds to be detected. However, a few potsherds were picked for study. The examination of the potsherds gave us an idea of the type of pottery to expect in the excavations.



Map 2.1: showing earthwork sites in the Brakwa area

Attempts were made to plot the mounds within the area enclosed by the entrenchment with the GPS. This proved futile as the dense foliage overhead and the heavy clouds blocked the detection of satellites with the result that only a few readings appeared on the GPS. However, ground reconnaissance revealed numerous mounds scattered across the length and breadth of the site – an indication that the area enclosed by the entrenchment was once heavily occupied. Owing to limited time and resources, the area outside the entrenchment could not be surveyed. The survey of this area is reserved for the next season of research.

The information gathered with the GPS has enabled us to get a fair idea of the size and shape of the entrenchment. The entrenchment is characterized by a fosse or a ditch which measures about 13.95 m wide and 3.41 m deep. The inner and outer banks are all close to the fosse. As with the case of other entrenchments in the forests of southern Ghana, the banks which measure on the average about 3 m from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the bank, and with a ditch of 13 m wide, was built with the soil dug from the fosse. Like the Kokobin entrenchment (see Davies 1961: 15), the soil from the fosse at Asaman was dumped close to the fosse to form an inner and an outer fortification wall. The circumference of the inner and outer banks measured 518.0 m and 637.6 m respectively. No clear entrance to the entrenchment was found. It is also not known whether a wooden fence or palisade was built in addition to the entrenchment to enhance security as was the case with some of the earthworks in the Birim Valley (see Kiyaga-Mulindwa 1982: 73). There is a heavy pile of leaves in the fosse and there are clear indications that silting has reduced the original depth of the fosse. However deep, an entrenchment of this type, as Davies (1967: 289) has rightly commented, could not have been defensible against a long siege and could only have made entry difficult but not impossible. The base of the banks is broader than the top, a situation explainable by the fact that rain water has eroded the soil on the top and deposited it at the base.

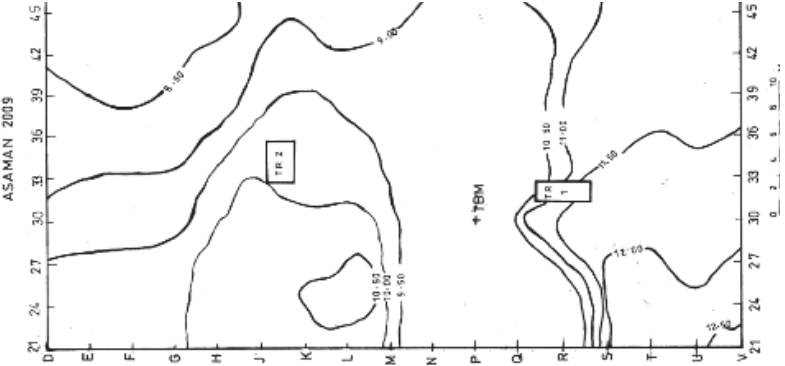


Fig.2.1: Plan of the 2009 Excavations

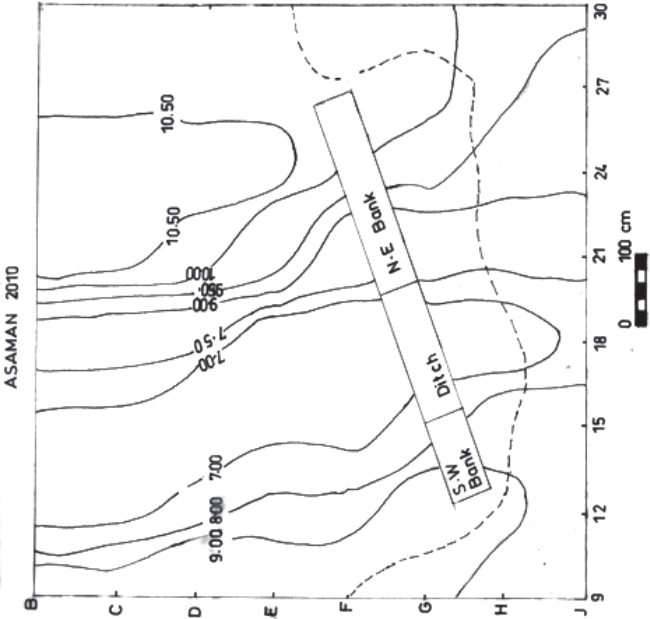


Fig.2.2 Plan of the Excavations

The local people, as is the case of the other entrenchments in southern Ghana, have no idea as to who built the earthworks, and as to when, and for what purpose the entrenchment was constructed. Many of the local inhabitants do not have a specific name for the entrenchment, and simply refer to it as *amena*, a general name used for any pit including pits used as graves. Nana Kwame Arhin, the *Mankrado* (i.e., the *Krontihene* or the Commander-in-Chief of the army) of Brakwa maintained that the earthworks have been there since the time of creation. He further narrated a story on the origin of the earthworks. This story maintains that in the very ancient past, River Birim decided to locate itself in the areas in which the earthworks are found today, but a god, known as Tweneboa resisted it and prevented the river from locating in the areas where the earthworks are now found. The ditches are therefore the valleys of the Birim which because of the resistance of Tweneboa the waters of the Birim were not allowed to flow into. This story is common in the Birim Valley area from where Nana Arhin claims to have heard the story. The story is interesting for it shows how some traditions are invented to explain unknown phenomena.

The Excavations

During the 2009 excavations, two trenches were opened on the cocoa farm of Mr. S.K. Ntiamoah. Sizeable mounds were found mostly in the areas planted with cocoa. Mr. Ntiamoah was unwilling to lose cocoa trees on his farm. For this reason, excavations had to be conducted in areas devoid of cocoa trees and where there was enough space to permit excavation. Even this proved difficult since the owner did not want many roots of his cocoa trees destroyed by excavation. After a thorough walk through the farm, five areas, chosen on the basis of space for excavation and the presence of surface pottery and mounds, were shown to the owner who permitted the research team to excavate in one of the selected areas. Two mounds were excavated (Fig. 2.1). The mounds were located in the eastern part of the area enclosed by the entrenchment and about 70 m from the eastern bank. After clearing the bush, a grid with a 3 m interval was laid. The north-south lines in the grid were labelled with letters while the east-west lines

were labelled with figures. The Temporary Bench Mark was located at P 30 (see Fig. 2.2). Two trenches were excavated. The dimensions of the trenches were dictated by the space between the trees. Care was taken to ensure that the trenches were not too close to cocoa trees.

The first trench, labelled Trench 1, measured 1.5×4 m. The second Trench, labelled Trench 2 and measuring 2×3 m, was opened 18 m to the north of Trench 1. The heavy rains at the time made it difficult to differentiate the natural stratigraphy. An arbitrary level of 20 cm to a context was therefore adopted. The natural stratigraphy was drawn at the end of the excavations.

Trench 1 had a simple stratigraphy and the levels with cultural material attained a depth of 78 cm (see Fig. 2.3). Four arbitrary levels were recorded in the trench. The first level was characterized by a black humus soil with rootlets, potsherds, pieces of iron slag, and a single stone bead made of granite. The second level was also characterized by the same black humus soil found in the first level. In addition, the second level was characterized by a dark brown soil with quartzite stones towards the very bottom of the level. Finds from the second level consisted of potsherds, a fragment of tuyeres, and pieces of iron slag. The third level was characterized by the same dark brown soil characteristic of the lower part of the second level. Cultural materials from the level consisted of potsherds, fragments of tuyeres, and pieces of iron slag. The fourth and last level, also characterized by dark brown soil, produced a fragment of daub and two fragments of tuyeres. The fourth level was underlain by a sterile orange red sub-soil with fragments of quartzite stones.

Trench 2 which appeared to have been disturbed had a more complicated stratigraphy (see Fig. 2.4). The first level, which produced potsherds and six pieces of iron slag, was characterized by the black humus soil found in the first level of Trench 1, and the reddish orange soil that characterized the third level of Trench 1. The soil encountered in this level was soft and loose, and appeared to have been dug from elsewhere and deposited on the original ground of the excavated area. The second level, also characterized by loose and soft black humus and orange red soils characteristic of the first level, produced a kernel of *Elaeis guineensis*, potsherds and a fragment of tuyeres. The soils from

the second level also appeared to have been deposited on the original ground of the site.

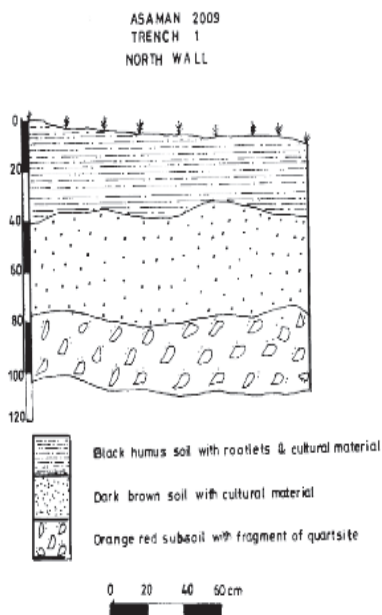


Fig.2.3 Section of north wall of Trench

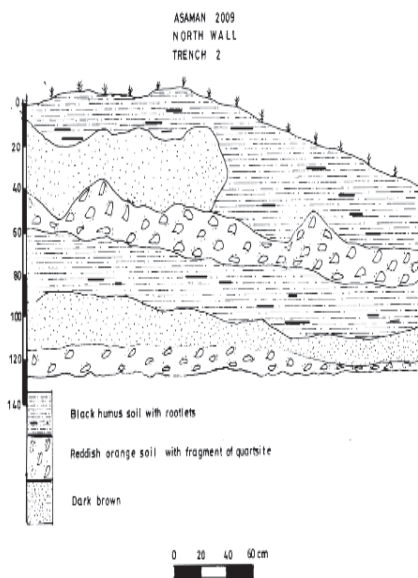


Fig 2.4. Section of north wall of Trench 2

The third level, consisting of orange red soil which formed the sterile sub-soil of Trench 1, and which also appeared to be part of the soil dumped on the original ground, produced cultural materials in the form of potsherds, a single quartz flake, two fragments of tuyeres and a fragment of daub. Underlying this soil of orange red colour was black humus soil characteristic of the top soil in Trench 1. This layer of black humus soil was the soil characteristic of the fourth level which ended at a depth of 80 cm, beyond which no cultural materials were found. The level produced potsherds, an upper grindstone of sandstone, and a polished stone axe of greenstone. The black humus soil was underlain by a dark brown soil which was in turn underlain by the sterile orange-red sub-soil at the bottom of Trench 1. No cultural materials were found in the last two soil types.

It appears that the mound on which Trench 2 was opened was partly artificial and the first three uppermost soils consisting of the black humus soil, the dark brown loamy soil and orange red soils were dumped on the fourth layer of soil consisting of the black humus, also characteristic of the top soil of Trench 1. The fourth layer of black humus soil appears to have been the original ground on which the overlying soils were dumped. The looseness of the three uppermost soils, and the compact nature of the fourth layer of black soil would seem to support the view that the soils above the black soil of the fourth layer were dumped on the original ground of the site. A further confirmation of this interpretation was provided by a pit about 3 m to the west of Trench 2. It appears that it was the soil from this pit that was spread over the excavated area of Trench 2. No postholes or floors were found in the excavations, and the only materials suggestive of habitation structures were the fragments of daub.



Fig 6 The Trench excavated in 2010

Fig. 2.5 The trench in 2010

In 2010, a long trench measuring 1.5 x 15.0 m was opened across the inner embankment to the north-east, the ditch and the outer embankment to the south-west (see Figs. 2.5). Laying the trench in the normal north-south direction would have led to the destruction of crops. The trench was laid in a north-east to south-west direction across the inner embankment, the ditch and the outer embankment, in an area where it was not likely to destroy many valuable crops. To facilitate excavation work, the trench was divided into three sections. The first section consisted of the inner embankment to the north-east and measured 1.5 x 7.0 m; the second section measuring 1.5 x 5.0 m consisted of the ditch between the inner and outer embankment, and the third section was the outer embankment to the south-west and measured 1.5 x 3.0 m.

The stratigraphy of the North-East or inner embankment consisted of four levels with cultural materials. The first level consisted of black humus soil of about 70 cm thick. The black humus soil was underlain by a second level of soft reddish brown loamy soil that appeared to have been dug from the ditch and piled up to form the inner embankment. The brown loamy soil, measuring about 70 cm at its thickest section, was underlain by a third level of light orange clayey soil of about 1.5 m thick which was in turn underlain by a reddish brown sub-soil with creamy specks of weathered sandstone. All the levels with cultural materials contained pottery.

The stratigraphy of the South-West or outer embankment (Fig. 2.6) consisted of the same soil types found in the inner embankment except that it lacked the topmost level of black humus soil. The ditch was mainly characterized by black humus soil which was probably eroded from the top of the inner and outer embankments. Owing to the wetness of the soil, it was difficult to determine the ground level prior to the construction of the earthwork. However, it was possible to determine the depth of the ditch from the top of the South-West (outer) and North-East (inner) embankments which measured 5.2 m and 5.8 m respectively. Conservative estimates (based on the probability that the reddish brown loamy soil found in the inner and outer embankments was the outcast from the ditch) compute the thickness of the South-West and North-East embankments as 87 cm and 1.5 m respectively.

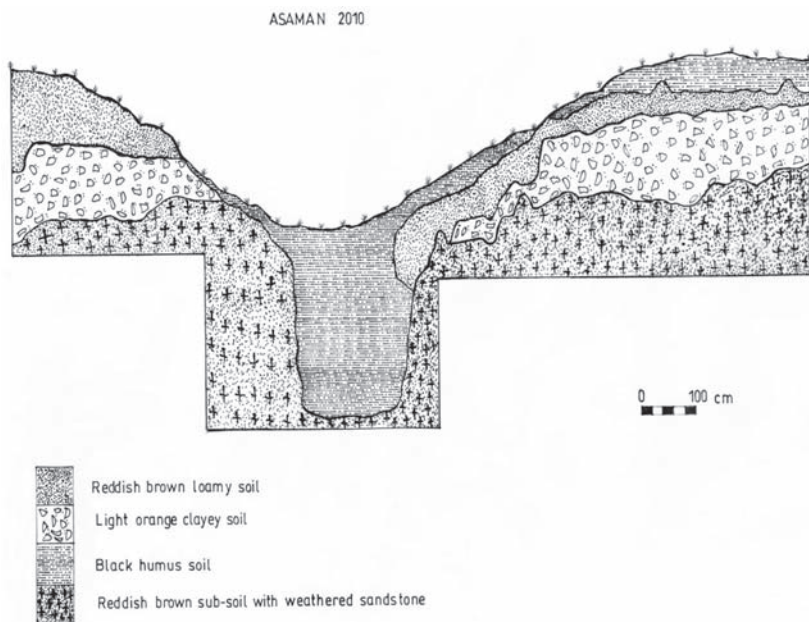


Fig.2.6 Stratigraphy of the Trench excavated in 2010

Finds from the Excavations

The predominant finds from the 2009 excavations consisted of 6,702 potsherds which constitute 99.4 % of the total finds. Other finds include 19 pieces of iron slag (0.3 %), recovered from all the stratigraphic levels of Trench 1; 11 fragments of tuyeres (0.2 %), recovered from Levels 2, 3, and 4 of Trench1, and from Levels 1, 2 , and 3 of Trench 2; 2 fragments of daub (0.02 %) from Level 4 and Level 3 of Trench 1 and Trench 2 respectively; 1 palm kernel (0.01 %) from Level 2 of Trench 2; 1 quartz flake (0.01 %) from Level 3 of Trench 2; 1 stone bead of granite (0.01%) from Level 1 of Trench 1; 1 upper grindstone of sandstone (0.01%) from Level 4 of Trench 2; 1 greenstone polished stone axe (0.01 %) from Level 4 of Trench 2, and 2 shells of *Achatina achatina* (0.02 %) from Level 1 of Trench 2.

The analysis of finds from the 2010 excavations (which consist of pottery similar to that from the 2009 excavations, pieces of iron slag,

a corroded iron object, upper and lower grindstones of sandstone, palm kernels, and shells of *Achatina achatina*) has not been completed. However, the presence of iron slag in all the levels of the excavated units is an indication that the site is an “Iron Age” site. The pottery from the 2009 excavations is described in greater detail below.

A total of 2,701 potsherds, constituting 40.3 % of the total potsherds from the 2009 excavations were recovered from Trench 1, while 4,001 potsherds constituting 59.7 % of the total sherds were retrieved from Trench 2. The pottery was in good condition although a few was badly weathered. The sherds are well fired with 5,354 (79.9 %), 1,339 (20.0 %), and 9 (0.1 %) falling within 0-5 cm, 5-10 cm and 10-15 cm respectively when measured on their longest axes. The fabric is coarse, black, brown, reddish brown, buff or creamy in colour, and contains glittering specks of mica and quartz fragments which are natural inclusions in the clay. Some of the sherds have sandy, gritty worn surfaces and are eroded and friable. Vessel wall ranges from 4 to 11 mm. The thickness of the walls of the overhanging flanges, so much characteristic of the pottery may be as much as 31 mm. The wall of the rim is usually thicker than that of the neck and body. For this reason, the vessels rarely broke at the rim, and rim sherds are bigger than neck and body sherds many of which are broken into tiny fragments. It is also partly for this reason that body sherds predominate in number than other vessel parts. A total of 5,044 body sherds, constituting 75.3 % were recovered from the excavations. Some of the sherds are crumbly. Most of the sherds are characteristically unburnished. Only 39 (0.5 %) out of the total of 6,702 sherds are burnished, and the remaining 6,663 (99.4 %) are unburnished. Red-slipping was also unpopular and only 4 sherds constituting 0.05 % of the total sherds are burnished. Also unpopular are smudged or smoke-glazed sherds. Only 1 smoked-glazed sherd was found in the pottery assemblage.

Vessels with handles are rare for only a single handle was found among the sherds. Most probably, the pottery was predominantly characterized by elliptical or rounded bases and bodies with flowing rather than angular profile and flat bases. This is inferred from the fact that no carinated sherds and flat bases were found among the pottery. It is difficult to distinguish between elliptical or rounded bases

(particularly of large vessels) from body sherds. Only 1 base sherd was found, and it is likely that several elliptical bases have been counted among the body sherds.

A predominant number of the pottery is undecorated. Out of the total of 6,702 sherds, 5,537 (82.6 %) are undecorated. The remaining 1,165 sherds (17.4 %) are decorated with a variety of decorations, the most predominant being single and multiple grooves, sometimes described by some researchers as incisions rather than grooves. Altogether, 935 sherds are decorated with single and multiple grooves. These constitute 80.3 % of the total decorations on the pottery. Sixty six (7.1 %) out of the 935 grooved sherds are decorated with single grooves, and the remaining 869 (92.9 %) are decorated with multiple grooves. The multiple grooves were achieved by raking. The spaces between the grooves are so regular and standardized that they could not have been produced singly. This suggests that they were produced at a time by dragging a multi-tooth object along the vessels. The grooves were found on the pottery from all the levels of the two pits and this together with the fact that similar pottery was found in all the levels suggest that there was no change in the potting tradition throughout the occupation of the site. The grooved motifs, which are predominantly horizontal, are found on rim lips, necks, shoulders, and below and above overhanging flanges. A few of the grooves are curvilinear or wavy.

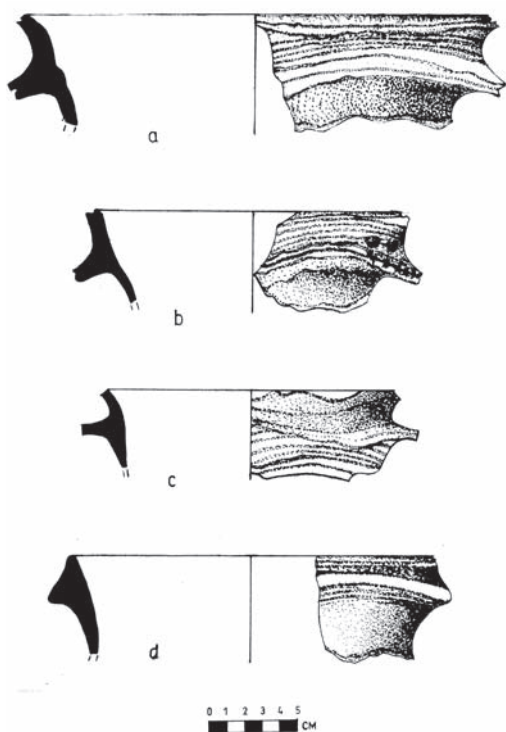


Fig.2.7 Jar forms of Asaman pottery

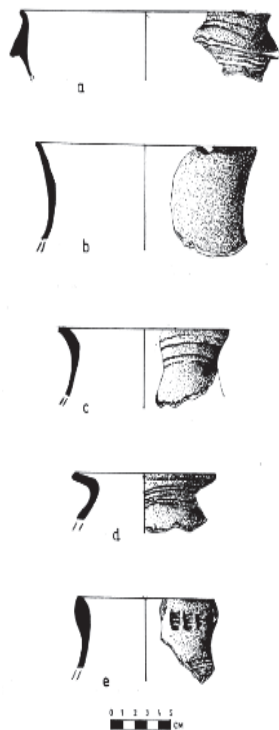


Fig.2.8 Jar forms of Asaman pottery

Other decorations include channelling on neck of vessels (0.4 %); bosses on the body and just below the rim lip (0.3 %); single incisions on the rim, neck and overhanging flanges (0.9 %); horizontal multiple incisions on the rim, neck, shoulder, body and overhanging flanges (0.6 %); triangular or sub-triangular stamps on the rim, neck and body (0.7 %); comb stamps, usually in the shape of square-like furrows, on the rim, neck, body and between rims and overhanging flanges (0.8 %); rectangular or sub-rectangular stamps on the neck, rim, body, overhanging flanges and between the rim and overhanging flanges (0.7 %); an impression achieved by stamping a hollow reed or stalk on the body of a vessel (0.2 %); dot stamps achieved by impressing an object with a rounded terminal on the shoulder or body of vessels (0.7 %); crescent-shaped or curved stamps on the rim (0.3 %); sub-circular

depressions within which are a tiny vertical line and multiple horizontal lines radiating from the vertical line, probably achieved by stamping a seed or a pod on the rim, neck and body of vessels (2.3 %); short linear stabs probably achieved by impressing small cylindrical sticks (or by incising with such tools) on the rim, neck, overhanging flanges below the rim, and between the rim and overhanging flanges (2.0 %), and notches (0.9 %) on the rim or overhanging flanges.

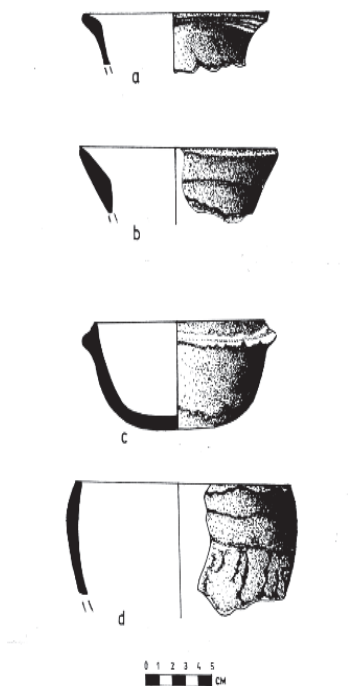


Fig.2.9 Bowl forms of Asaman pottery

Rouletted motifs consist of cord roulette on the rim, neck, body, a handle, directly below an overhanging flange located below the rim, and between the rim and overhanging flanges (2.1 %); to be like a basket-weave pattern on the rim and neck (1.2 %), and a type of rouletting with square-like or sub-circular furrows on the rim, neck and body (0.5 %).

The remaining decorations consist of grooves combined with other decorations on the same sherds. They are single or multiple horizontal

grooves and dot stamps on the body (0.3 %); multiple horizontal grooves on the neck and rim and notches on the rim and overhanging flange below the rim (2.7 %); single or multiple horizontal grooves and square-like comb stamps on the rim (0.3 %); multiple or single horizontal grooves found on rim, neck and body sherds together with sub-circular depressions within which are a vertical line and multiple horizontal lines radiating from the vertical line (1.3 %); multiple horizontal grooves and cord roulette on body and neck sherds (0.3 %); multiple horizontal grooves and triangular or sub-triangular stamps on neck sherds (0.2 %); multiple horizontal grooves and short linear stabs on a neck sherd (0.08 %); multiple horizontal grooves and finger impressions on rim sherds (0.2 %), and multiple horizontal grooves and sub-rectangular stamps on a body sherd (0.08 %). The last decoration consists of a combination of three decorations namely, dot stamps-on- multiple horizontal grooves on the neck, and notches on an overhanging flange, all on a single rim sherd (0.08 %).

The pottery is characterized by vessels with flowing profiles. Rim, neck, body, base and handle sherds constitute 14.9 % (998 sherds), 9.8 % (658 sherds), 75.3 % (5,044 sherds), 0.01 % (1 sherd) and 0.01% (1 sherd) of the total sherds respectively. Out of the total of 998 rim sherds, only 266 (26.7 %) were diagnostic. The predominant vessel forms consist of jars with constricted necks and overhanging flanges or ledges (Figs. 2.7 and, 2.8). The first jar form (Fig. 2.7 a, b, c, d; Fig. 2.8a) consists of vessels with everted rims separated by the neck from overhanging flanges or ledges immediately below the neck. Rim diameter of vessels of this form ranges from 15 to 26 cm. Some of the sherds are blackened with soot, an indication that they were used for cooking. A total of 237 sherds constituting 89.1 % of the total vessel forms belong to this vessel form.

Sherds of the first jar form, found in all the levels of the two excavated trenches, are characteristically unburnished and decorated with grooves on rim lips, necks and overhanging flanges. The wall immediately below the overhanging flanges gradually curves in, and then curves out to join the body of the vessels, presumably globular in shape. In some cases the overhanging flanges are decorated with notches. In one case the neck and shoulder are decorated with comb

stamps consisting of oblique, rectangular furrows. One sherd is decorated with a combination of horizontal circumferential grooves on the neck, rim lip and an overhanging flange, notches on the overhanging flange, and two deep circular impressions probably produced with a finger. Some other sherds are decorated in the areas below the overhanging flanges with vertical linear impressions superimposed over circumferential horizontal grooves achieved by raking. Two other sherds are decorated with cord roulette and a deep circular impression (probably produced with a finger) in the area between the rim and overhanging flange, and with single circumferential grooves on the lips of the rim and overhanging flange. Also found on a sherd belonging to the vessel form are circumferential grooves on the neck and oblique linear impressions on an overhanging flange. Another sherd is decorated with a rouletted motif similar to the weaving patterns found on baskets produced from palm branches. Other decorations consist of circumferential grooves on the neck and curvilinear grooves on overhanging flanges.

The second group of jars (Fig. 2.8: b-d) consist of vessels whose rims curve smoothly (i.e., without angles) at both the exterior and interior to join a constricted neck (Fig. 2.8: b). The rims of some of the sherds are completely out-turned (Fig. 2.8: d). They are devoid of the overhanging flanges characteristic of the first jar form. The rim-neck joint of one sherd is angular in the interior (Fig. 2.8: c). A total of 19 sherds constituting 7.1 % of the total vessel forms belong to this jar form. The sherds of the jar form are all very light in weight and only one sherd shows traces of soot. The body walls of the vessels, of about 4 mm thick, are thinner than the body walls of the first jar form. Sherds of the vessel form were restricted to Levels 1 and 2 of Trench 1 and Levels 2 and 3 of Trench 2. Rim diameter ranges from 14 to 23 cm. Rim lips are round in shape. Like the first jar form, sherds of the second jar form are unburnished. Decoration consists of wavy grooves on the neck or on the shoulder, linear impressions on the rim lip, single circumferential grooves on the neck, and in the case of one sherd, a combination of a single circumferential groove and comb stamps on the neck.

The third jar form (Fig.2.8:e), represented by a single sherd from Level 4 of Trench 2, has an almost straight, bulbous rim with a diameter of about 17 cm. It is decorated with multiple horizontal grooves on the shoulder and rouletted motifs consisting of a series of three short horizontal lines circumferentially arranged along the rim, about 1.5 cm below the rim lip. The sherd is unburnished and partly blackened with soot. The jar form constitutes 0.4 % of the total vessels from the excavations.

The remaining vessel forms are bowls (Fig. 2.9: a-d). The first bowl form consists of basin-like vessels represented by 6 sherds and 1 whole vessel (Fig. 2.9: a-c). They are characterized by sloping sides with rim diameter ranging from 10 to 20 cm. Rims are flared (Fig. 2.9: a-b), and one sherd is characterized by an angular profile in the inner part of the rim (Fig. 2.9: b). Two of the sherds were recovered from Levels 2 and 4 of Trench 1, and the remaining 4 sherds and the complete bowl were found in Level 3 of Trench 2. The sherds are unburnished and deposited with soot. The whole vessel has no traces of soot and was probably not used for cooking. Decoration, found on only one sherd, consists of incised lines on the interior part of the rim. The bowl form constitutes 2.6 % of the total vessel forms.

The second and last bowl form (Fig. 2.9:d) is a vessel with a slightly incurved rim represented by only two sherds (0.8 % of the total vessel forms), one from Level 2 of Trench 1, and the other from Level 3 of Trench 2. It has a rim diameter of 14cm. Decoration consists of what appears to be a kind of roulette just below the rim lip. The decoration almost obliterated by weathering, has some kind of regularity which could only be achieved by rouletting. One of the sherds is blackened by soot. .

Dating the Site

Seven charcoal samples from the 2009 excavations, 3 from Trench 1 and 4 from Trench 2, were collected for dating by the Ångström Laboratory in Uppsala, Sweden. Care was taken to ensure that all the samples from Trench 2 were collected from outside the disturbed areas. The 7 samples from various depths of the two trenches have

produced the following dates calibrated by Oxcal vers 4.1 using the IntCal 04 curve (Ramsey 2001; Reimer *et al.* 2004):

Trench	Lab. No.	Depth	Uncal bp	Cal AD/BC 68.2 %	Cal AD/BC 95.4 %
1	Ua-38354	36 cm	1538 $\pm$ 34	437-570 AD	430-595 AD
1	Ua-38355	57 cm	1470 $\pm$ 33	567-632 AD	543-647 AD
1	Ua-38360	76 cm	2243 $\pm$ 34	383-231 BC	400-186 BC
2	Ua-38356	62 cm	1141 $\pm$ 34	873-973 AD	780-983 AD
2	Ua-38357	69 cm	1374 $\pm$ 34	635-675 AD	601-763 AD
2	Ua-38358	70 cm	2523 $\pm$ 35	782-557 BC	795-538 BC
2	Ua-38359	72 cm	2524 $\pm$ 35	784-559 BC	796-538 BC

The dates from the 2009 excavations have been calibrated to one and two standard deviations with the Oxcal 4.1 (IntCal 04 Curve) Programme (Ramsey 2001: 355-363). The first three samples (Ua-38354, Ua-38355, Ua-38360) are from Trench 1. Sample Ua-38355, collected from Trench 1 at a depth of 57 cm, has produced a 2-sigma calibrated date of 543-647 AD. Contrary to expectation, sample Ua-38354, collected at a depth of 36 cm from the same trench produced an older calibrated date of 430-595 AD. The two dates are therefore inverted in terms of their stratigraphic positions. This problem is however alleviated by the fact that the two dates overlap. The third sample from Trench 1 (Ua-38360), collected at the deepest depth of 76 cm, produced as expected, the earliest calibrated date of 400-186 BC.

The four samples from Trench 2 have produced dates that are in conformity with their stratigraphic positions. A pertinent question to ask is do the early dates of the late eight century to the sixth century BC obtained for the lowest levels of Trench 2, and the fifth to the second century BC dates obtained for the lowest levels of Trench 1 actually date the occupation of the site? The carbon samples were all associated with pottery. None of the early dates referred to above was associated with any other cultural materials, and the iron slag, tuyeres, grindstone, and daub fragments were all stratified above the

samples which have produced the early dates. The pottery from the site belongs to the pottery tradition named as the Earthworks Pottery (Kiyaga-Mulindwa 1978) or *Atetefo* Pottery (Chouin 2009a, 2009b). The earliest dates for this pottery tradition are in the first millennium AD (see DeCorse 2001: 228. footnote, 2005; Spiers 2007: 254; Chouin 2009a: 42-47, 2009b: 544-550). Besides, the early dates obtained for the lower levels at Asaman are within the time frame of the “Late Stone Age” of Ghana. The single quartz flaked tool from Level 3 of Trench 2 (a probable stray find), the grindstone, the polished stone axe, and the single stone bead were all found in contexts that cannot be associated with a “Late Stone Age” assemblage. The samples which produced the dates within the first millennium BC are therefore likely to have been derived from old roots buried in the ground of the excavated area. The samples do not therefore date the occupation of the site. On the other hand, the first millennium AD dates tie in very well with dates obtained for similar pottery retrieved from the excavations at the earthworks site of Akrokrowa (see Chouin 2009a 2009b).

Seventeen charcoal samples from the 2010 excavations were sent by Mr. Amos Forson, a graduate student of the Department of Nuclear Science and Applications, School of Nuclear and Applied Sciences, University of Ghana, Legon, to Centre for Dating and Diagnostics (CEDAD), Department of Engineering for Innovation, University of Salento, Lecce, Italy for dating. The samples were recovered from the ditch and the South-West and North-East embankments. The conventional radio-carbon ages for the samples were converted into calendar years by the software OxCal Ver. 3.5 based on the last atmospheric dataset. The results of the calibration are reported and summarized below:

From the South-West Embankment

Lab No.	Depth	Uncal Age (BP)	Cal 68.2%	Cal 95.4%
LTL6022A	72 cm	362 ± 40	AD 1460-1630	AD 1440-1640
LTL6025A	155 cm	1559 ± 45	AD 430-550	AD 410-600
LTL6024A	200 cm	3013 ± 40	BC1380-1210	BC 1390-1120

From the North-East Embankment

Lab No.	Depth	Uncal Age (BP)	Cal 68.2 %	Cal 95.4 %
LTL12209A	39 cm	1611 $\pm$ 35	AD 400-540	AD 380-550
LTL6030A	55cm	1438 $\pm$ 45	AD 580-660	AD 540-670
LTL6032A	68cm	1877 $\pm$ 50	AD 70-220	AD 20-250
LTL6031A	80 cm	2239 $\pm$ 40	BC 490-210	BC 400-200
LTL12210A	201 cm	2148 $\pm$ 45	BC 350-100	BC 360-50

From the Ditch

Lab No.	Depth	Uncal Age (BP)	Cal 68.2 %	Cal 95.4 %
LTL6023A	172 cm	1151 $\pm$ 45	AD 780-970	AD 770-990
LTL12205A	317 cm	1570 $\pm$ 45	AD 430-540	AD 400-600
LTL12206A	331 cm	1216 $\pm$ 45	AD 720-890	AD 680-940
LTL12207A	349 cm	1173 $\pm$ 45	AD 770-940	AD 710-980
LTL12208A	406 cm	1151 $\pm$ 45	AD 780-970	AD 770-990
LTL6026A	369 cm	1656 $\pm$ 35	AD 340-330	AD 250-540
LTL6027A	422 cm	908 $\pm$ 45	AD 1040-1180	AD 1020-1220
LTL6028A	484 cm	1554 $\pm$ 40	AD 430-570	AD 420-600
LTL6029A	487 cm	1498 $\pm$ 40	AD 530-620	AD 430-650

Out of the 17 dates obtained for the 2010 excavations, 12 (70.6 %) fall within the first millennium AD; 2 (11.8 %) fall within the second millennium AD and 3 (17.6 %) fall within the second and fourth millennium BC. The BC dates are out of context in site with iron slag in all the levels of the excavated units and the samples from which the dates were derived probably came from old roots buried in the soil. Besides, there is no assemblage of tools that can be attributed to the “Late Stone Age” within which the dates fall. The preponderance of first millennium AD dates will seem to indicate that the site dates to the pre-Atlantic contact period.

Discussion

The reconnaissance undertaken during the research has succeeded in locating four more earthwork sites at Abutia, Heman, Ndwaso and Baako. These sites, together with the two known sites at Ngyedum and Asaman bring to six the number of earthworks located in the Brakwa area. The list of earthworks in the area as presently known and published is by no means exhaustive for informants including the chief of Brakwa have hinted that there are several earthworks apart from those listed here in the research area. The presence of six earthwork settlements (and probably more) within short distances from each other may be an indication that more of such features may be found in the forests of southern Ghana. As Gérard Chouin (2009b: 63) has rightly commented, the forest region of Ghana remains “a largely unexplored archaeological frontier” with probably large permanent settlements (as opposed to seasonal settlements of hunter gatherers) and monumental earthworks yet to be discovered. The re-discovery of large permanent settlements in the forests of Ashanti at Asantemanso (which has provided evidence of occupation by probable ancestors of the Asante by the tenth century AD) and Adansemanso (Shinnie 1987; Shinnie and Shinnie 1995; Vivian 1990) (one of the largest towns in central Ghana in its time with evidence of continuous occupation from the ninth to the mid- seventeenth century) may be an indication that more settlements in the forests of Ghana are yet to be located by archaeologists.

The earthworks in the forests of southern Ghana, including the one discussed in this paper, are significant for various reasons. They are monumental fortifications consisting of deep trenches and raised earthen banks. They suggest a complexity of social and perhaps political organization. They were probably in the words of Kiyaga-Mulindwa (1978: 196) “the product of a number of season’s intensive labour of a considerable proportion of the population.” They were certainly permanent settlements as opposed to seasonal settlements of hunter-gatherers. They were most probably constructed with iron tools. In the words of Gérard Chouin, the amount of work involved in their construction “reveals a social organization characterized by the capacity to mobilize, control and coordinate workers and their tools

and, probably, by the will to remain well-entrenched in a particular territory over long periods of time". All the documented earthworks are characterized by tuyeres, and/ or iron slag. Most of them are elliptical in shape

The presence of several permanent settlements in the form of entrenched sites in the forests of southern Ghana has been cited by Chouin (2009a; 2009b) as evidence that clearly contradicts Wilks' (1993: 41) claim that the forests of southern Ghana were occupied by hunter-gatherer societies until the fifteenth to the seventeenth century when there was a transformation "from an economy based primarily on hunting and gathering (foraging) to one based primarily on food crop production (agriculture)". The "big bang" theory, the name given by Wilks (1982a: 234) to his theory that purports to explain the transformation of Akan society from a subsistence economy based on hunter-gathering to an agrarian society of the historic period has been succinctly summarized by Chouin (2009a; 2009b).

In his book titled *Forests of Gold*, Wilks (1993: xiii) outlined "the conditions under which Akan society emerged in its historic form". To Wilks, this transformation was made possible through the acquisition of enslaved Africans, purchased with gold by influential local "entrepreneurs", the *abirempon*, from among the enslaved Africans brought from the northern grasslands by Wangara traders and by the Portuguese to Elmina from the Benin coast, Sao Tome and Principe, the Niger Delta and Congo (see Wilks 1977, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1993, 1994). These local entrepreneurs used unfree labour to till the land and to dig gold. The acquisition of labour over and above family labour, according to Wilks, was essential to the development of agriculture. This acquisition was facilitated by a strong demand for gold in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, first in the Wangara trading posts north of the forest, and later in those of the European traders to the south. To sustain the gold trade, the Wangara and the Portuguese had to maintain a constant supply of unfree labour to the Akan (Wilks 1993: 78). Those who controlled the production of gold, in the words of Wilks (1993: 96), "were those able to procure a supply of unfree labor", and "those who procured unfree labor were those able to create arable farms within the forest". To Wilks (1982a: 231-249,

1993: 94), the earthworks were work camps for the enslaved who were involved in gold mining, forest clearing and food production, and whose masters, the *abirempon*, appropriated the surplus produced by unfree labour and became the founders of the early Akan states or chiefdoms, the *Aman*. In other words, those who controlled the production and commercialization of gold were those who were able to buy the enslaved whose labour was used to establish farms. The owners of the farms, the *abirempon*, formed a new class of “entrepreneurs” who built states from their estates.

According to Wilks (1982a: 234-235), the transformation of the economy based on hunting and gathering to that based on food-crop production also entailed the adjustment in social structures, a transformation from “bands” or “companies” appropriate to a foraging to matri-lineages and matriclans appropriate to a food-crop producing economy. The matriclans were important as they allowed the integration of the enslaved among commoners and the distribution of people “in order to facilitate the organization of labor” (Wilks 1993: 42, 82). The matrilineal descent groups were organized to recruit members by other means additional to direct lineal descent and therefore allowed for the enslaved to be integrated into Akan societies. In the words of Wilks (1993: 71), “this socioeconomic revolution...reached its zenith...in...the sixteenth century”.

The pottery from the excavations from Asaman, as well as the sherds collected from the surface at Abutia, Baako, Ndwoaso and Heman belong to the pottery tradition known as the Earthworks or *Atetefo* Pottery. This type of pottery, characterized by small grooves (called by some researchers as incisions) on the necks, rims, rim lips, shoulders, overhanging flanges and ledges, as well as by other decorations such as triangular stamps, bosses, comb stamps and rouletted motifs, is a hallmark of the earthworks of southern Ghana and earlier than the typical Akan pottery of the second millennium. The pottery from the excavations is completely devoid of the later Akan-type pottery of the second millennium AD. This suggests that the settlement enclosed by the earthworks is probably associated with the earthworks whose monumental features further suggest a social organization of a kind that could mobilize an effective labour force for constructional

purposes. The inhabitants of the site were certainly sedentary. The archaeological record, consisting of cultural material of up to more than 80 cm deep, uninterrupted by any break in occupation, and characterized by similar ceramic vessels and decorations throughout the levels, is indicative of a single and long occupation. The absence of profuse lamellation in the archaeological record also suggests that this long occupation was uninterrupted. The 2-sigma calibrated dates of 430-595 AD, 543-647 AD, 780-985 AD, and 601-763 AD obtained in the 2009 excavations as well as the eleven 2-sigma first millennium AD dates obtained in the 2010 excavations for the embankment and ditch of the earthworks provide archaeological evidence that debunks Wilks' "big bang" theory. The first millennium AD dates confirm four 2-sigma first millennium AD dates of 717-743 AD, 669-899 AD, 779-794 AD and 662-828 AD obtained earlier by Chouin (2009a, 2009b: 544-551) for the ditch, inner and outer banks of the Akrokrowa earthworks near Abrem Berase in the Komenda-Eguafo-Edina-Abrem District of the Central Region of Ghana. The dates for Asaman provide the second clear evidence that there were sedentary groups well established in the forests of southern Ghana before the Atlantic contact period. This removes any doubt that social complexity in the forests of Ghana predates the Atlantic contact period, and that Wilks' "big bang" theory on state-formation and social complexity is untenable.

The Akan names of the entrenched settlements in the Brakwa area perhaps suggests that the entrenchments were built by Akan groups. It has been argued elsewhere (Boachie-Ansah 2008, 2009, 2010) that the Akan were the builders of the entrenchments in southern Ghana. This is because the distribution of the earthworks corresponds with present-day Akan settlements (Davies 1967: 290); the Akan people have been settled in their present areas for a very long time (Shinnie 2003: 221), and evidence from Ngyeduum, Bantama (see Calvocoressi 1977), Twifo Heman (see Bellis 1987) and Eguafo (see Spiers 2007: 141-170) suggests that the Earthworks Pottery is ancestral and stratigraphically related to Akan pottery. The place-names in the Brakwa area seem to confirm that the builders of the earthworks were Akan. The Akan, in contrast to their neighbours, the Guan, have institutions that foster centralization and complex political organization that

would have facilitated the building of monumental structures such as the earthworks. The replacement of the Earthworks Pottery by Akan pottery in the Birim Valley from about the seventeenth century has been attributed to depopulation of the earthworks people and a subsequent population replacement with an Akan people (Kiyaga-Mulindwa 1978: 193-194, 1982: 70). However as Bellis (1987) and DeCorse (2001: 118) have maintained, because this change in pottery appears to have taken place throughout southern Ghana, and because it is unlikely that the entire area of southern Ghana was depopulated and subsequently replaced with another cultural group, the ceramic change must be explained in terms of technological innovation and changes in the socio-cultural systems of the indigenous population. This interpretation is more consistent with ethno-linguistic and ethno-historical data that indicate continuity in Akan populations, particularly on the coast, over the past 500 years (DeCorse 2001: 118).

Conclusion

The forests of southern Ghana were occupied by sedentary groups well before the fifteenth century. Ivor Wilks' idea that the forests of southern Ghana were inhabited by bands of foragers until the fifteenth century must be abandoned and put to rest. Social complexity in the forests of southern Ghana can be clearly seen in a first millennium AD context, and any attempt to assign such a complexity to a later period in the Ghanaian past defies scientific facts provided by current and recent research.

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Chapter 3

Resilient Villagers: Eight Centuries of Continuity and Change in Banda Village Life

Ann B. Stahl and Amanda L. Logan

Introduction

They say that “Everyone in Ghana comes from a village”—even those born and raised in the city. The adage may ring less true today than a generation ago, but it captures the rootedness of families, foodways, and other cultural practices in village life. Because villages are seen as sites of cultural connection and continuity, village life is sometimes imagined as less subject to change than city life. This idea underwrote early research by anthropologists like Rattray (1927, 1929) who sought out “greybeards” in “remote villages” to learn about “a world... of pristine custom and tradition” (McCaskie 1983:189). But as recent research shows, village life has long been shaped by changes in global political economy. In this paper we explore dynamism and resiliency in village life of the Banda area in the Black Volta River basin (Fig. 3.1). Our aim is to trace continuity and change in settlement, crafting, foodways and other practices over the last eight centuries. But first we examine why, until recently, archaeologists seldom studied village life and why this has changed in recent decades.

Practices without History: Village Life as ‘Cultural Substrate’

A progressive developmentalist view shaped colonial perceptions of African societies. In this view, so-called “simple” societies were thought to give way over time to more “complex” ones. Also known as social evolution, this was described in introductory textbooks as a succession in which so-called ‘bands’ or ‘tribes’ gave way to chiefdoms and ultimately states. This perspective focuses analytical attention on major changes in human lifeways such as the development of farming and the emergence of urban civilizations. In this framework, village life is perceived as a constant after its basic features developed.

These included durable architecture; technologies like potting and metallurgy; and the domesticated plant and animal resources that sustain ‘village agriculturalists.’ In this view, so-called ‘Iron Age’ village life was envisioned as a little-changing ‘substrate’ on which complex societies and urban centres were built.

This view of village life has been critiqued in recent decades by scholars interested in the effects of global connections. Marxist-inspired ethnographers and historians asked how traditional ‘modes of production’ were impacted by first mercantile and later industrial capitalism (Grier 1981; Wallerstein 1986; Wolf 1982). Historians and anthropologists have studied how global exchange, colonial demands on labour, cash crop production, and new forms of monetization affected the lives and livelihoods of villagers (Berry 1993; Guyer 1995; Isaacman and Roberts 1995; Kea 1982). They recognized that ‘ethnographic’ practices of production, kinship, or gender relations could not be assumed to characterize past centuries (e.g., Ekeh 1990). These developments led scholars to critique the idea that village life stood apart from the swirl of historical forces—that it was a cultural substrate of ‘tradition’ that simply ‘was.’ Today scholars recognize that West African village life has long been affected by broader connections, prompting the ethnographer Charles Piot (1999) to coin the term “remotely global.” Today archaeologists recognize that the practices of daily life—settlement, foodways, craft production—have histories (Logan 2012; Swanepoel 2008). Settlement locations and layouts were affected by colonial “village planning,” threats of enslavement and political dislocation (Stahl 2008b). Foodways were refigured by cash cropping, the adoption of new crops, and centuries of environmental change (Logan 2012). Craft production was altered by changes in resource and labour availability and reconfigurations of taste (de Barros 2001; Ogundiran 2002, 2009; Stahl 2002). As such, there is much to be learned about change and continuity in village life from archaeological sources.

The Dynamics of Village Life in Banda

The Banda Paramountcy is a multi-ethnic chieftaincy encompassing 24 villages immediately south of the Black Volta bend in northwestern Brong-Ahafo Region (Fig.3.1). Banda is ethnically and linguistically complex; oral histories provide insight into the sequence and timing of different groups’ movements into the area (Stahl 2001: 51-60);

however, because similar pottery is made by women of two ethnic-linguistic groups (Mo and Nafana) and used by all groups, we do not have a basis for linking archaeological sites with specific ethnic-linguistic groups (Crossland 1989; Cruz 2011; Stahl 1991).

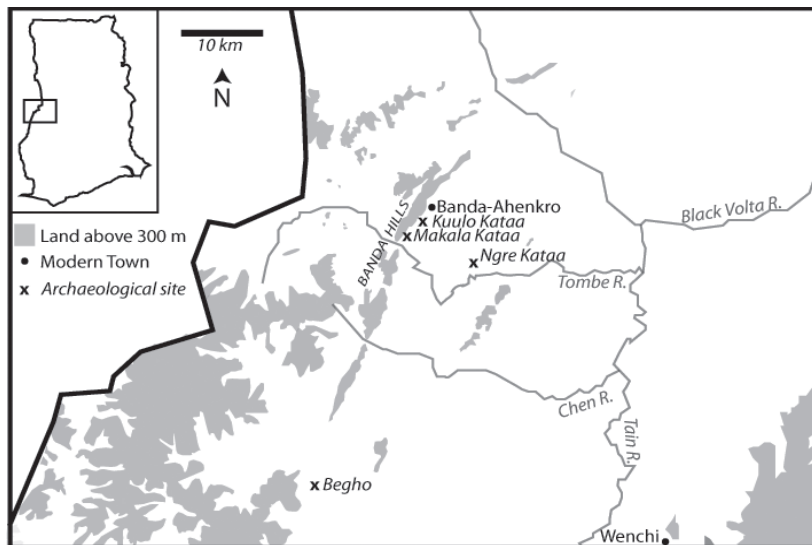


Figure 3.1: Sites in the Banda area discussed in text.

Banda was, until recently a ‘one-way’ destination, the road from Wenchi dead-ending at the Black Volta. Construction of the Bui Hydroelectric dam is transforming Banda from a little known rural area to one deemed crucial to Ghana’s energy future. Recently electrified, with roads paved only in the last decade, a visitor could easily imagine that s/he was arriving on the ‘brink of change.’ Potting is still practiced; vehicle traffic is limited; architecture in outlying villages is characterized by earthen-walled structures and thatched roofs, and people produce much of what they eat. But oral historical, documentary and archaeological evidence underscores the dynamism of village life, which has been the focus of Banda Research Project (BRP) investigations since 1986. Here we summarize what we’ve learned through an “upstreaming” or “direct historical approach” (Stahl 2001: 19-40) in which we have studied successively earlier sites, comparing settlement, craft and subsistence production and exchange to discern continuity and change in daily practice.

Banda in the late 18th through 19th centuries

British colonial officers periodically ‘toured’ Banda in the early 1900s in their capacity as tax collectors, census takers, and controllers of public works and ‘sanitation.’ Sanitation encompassed more than waste management. It also referred to colonial principles of ‘proper practice’: burying the dead in cemeteries on village outskirts; and building houses and towns laid out on a grid that enhanced sight distance and surveillability. It encompassed ‘village planning schemes’ that relocated and rebuilt villages across Ghana in the interwar period (Stahl 2001: 102-106). Thus in Banda we find archaeological sites abandoned ca. 1926-1931 located next to contemporary villages.

To learn about village life in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, we have excavated two loci at one of these abandoned villages known as Makala Kataa¹ (Fig. 3.1). The early area (Early Makala) was occupied after Banda was forcibly subjected to Asante overrule in 1773/1774 (Yarak 1979). It was rapidly abandoned around 1820 when Banda was attacked by Gyaman. Useable goods were left behind, suggesting that people left swiftly and did not return to collect household items. The site remained unoccupied for much of the 19th century. This was a time of upheaval in the western Volta basin. Warfare and slave-raiding intensified through the century as the Imam Samori shifted the focus of his activities eastward. Only when the British pushed Samori's forces northward did people settle again, now at Late Makala, shortly after Banda entered a treaty with Gold Coast colony officials in December, 1894 (Arhin 1974:112, 134). Makala Kataa villagers thus lived at a time of key transitions in Ghana's history—the expansion of Asante, the transition to ‘legitimate trade’ that followed Britain's 1807 abolition of the slave trade, and the imposition of colonial rule. Only lately returned to their sites of former occupation when first visited by early British officials, those who lived at Late Makala had endured decades of upheaval and dislocation. The British presumed that what they saw of village life was ‘traditional practice.’ They weren't aware that the small, stand-alone wattle-and-daub houses of Late Makala were quite different from the durable, course-earth compounds that had stood

1 “Kataa” in Nafaanra refers to an ‘old place.’ BRP has in the course of regional site survey used local names for sites when available (Smith 2008).

a century earlier at Early Makala. They didn't understand that early 20th-century practices registered a century of upheaval and dislocation associated with broader shifts in global political economy, with slave-based plantation production yielding to industrial production and setting in motion expanded colonial occupation of Africa.

Excavations at Makala Kataa suggest changes in more than housing style over the 18th and 19th centuries. Craft production was also affected by 19th-century political and economic dislocation. We have used Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) to identify where pottery was produced. Clays formed on Banda's varied geological substrates have distinct chemical signatures, allowing us to link compositional groups of ancient ceramics with known clay sources (Stahl et al. 2008). Whereas in the later 20th century pots have been a product of specialist communities located west of the Banda hills (Crossland and Posnansky 1978; Cruz 2003), archaeological evidence corroborates oral histories in showing that potting was previously more widely practiced. INAA analysis of sherds from late 19th- and early 20th-century sites show that pottery was made at sites both east and west of the Banda hills. Exchange across the hills appears to have been limited by the uncertainty of the early colonial years. A century earlier, pottery was also produced at villages east and west of the hills; however, in the early 19th century there was robust exchange across the hills. Jars made to the west find their way into the kitchen assemblages of women living east of the hills.

Early Makala villagers (late 18th-early 19th century) also participated in inter-regional exchange, as evidenced by use of imported beads that came to be incorporated into the sacred assemblages used in 20th-century rituals (Stahl 2002). There is no evidence that villagers smelted iron in this period, and it seems that they relied on neighbouring areas to access tools needed for daily activities like farming. Small numbers of spindle whorls suggest that thread, and probably cloth, was produced within households at a scale consistent with household consumption, a practice new to households in this period (Stahl and Cruz 1998).

Subsistence practices were also reshaped in this period. In the early 19th century, people relied predominantly on pearl millet, sorghum,

and probably yams,² supplemented by cowpea, baobab, shea butter, and possibly wild greens. By the late 19th century, archaeological traces suggest that people had shifted to maize, an American crop long present in the area as a minor crop. Colonial sources suggest that cassava—also introduced through Atlantic connections—became important at this time. Why such a shift? Oral histories suggest that decades of turmoil had made it difficult to farm, thus people turned to wild plants and animals from the bush. Shortages continued after local people were forced to supply Samori's troops with food (Stahl 2001:191-193). On resettling at Late Makala, villagers chose to grow maize. Its rapid maturation meant that two crops could be grown in the wet season. Faced with unstable political conditions, farmers made an informed choice to produce as much food as they could, as fast as they could (Logan 2012).

Animal bones also hint at the unsettled nature of life in Late Makala times. More 'garden' or opportunistic hunting is suggested by the increase in rodents and other small animals that tend to dwell in habitats disturbed by people. Garden hunting (Linares 1976) is a strategy people may adopt when larger game and/or labour is in short supply. In the late 19th century, Samori's troops reportedly hunted large game to near extermination (Stahl 2001:206-207). In the early colonial period, men's labour was siphoned from the area for service as carriers, and some left to work on cocoa plantations in the south. Greater reliance on trapping and opportunistic hunting of small fauna while farming may account for the differences seen at Late compared to Early Makala sites (Stahl 1999).

Village life during the early Atlantic period (16th through early 18th centuries)

Banda lies immediately north of the humid forest in an area of savanna woodland home to entrepôts where forest products (kola, gold) were exchanged for goods brought south along caravan routes

- 2 Yams and other tubers do not preserve well, thus we have no definitive proof that yams were consumed in Banda. However, according to historical documents, yams were important in Asante at the time, and were mentioned as present in Banda in early 20th century accounts, so it seems likely that they were also used in the early 19th century.

from the middle Niger River (Arhin 1989). Copper alloys and salt were among the commodities exchanged for forest products at centres like Begho, known to Arab chroniclers and early European voyagers alike (Posnansky 1987; Wilks 1993). Investigations on sites near Hani in western Brong-Ahafo documented what scholars believed to be ancient Begho (Posnansky 1987; cf. Bravmann and Mathewson 1970), located about 20 km south of the Banda area (Fig. 3.1). Established by the 13th century, Begho was a coveted prize for those hoping to control northern trade. Late in the 17th century, it was attacked by Sudanic rulers aiming to reestablish northward flow of gold diverted south by the European trade (Wilks 1993:29-31). Decades later Begho was attacked by Asante. Though it continued to be occupied (Posnansky 1987:20-21) its central role was diminished by movement of Mande traders and artisans to Kumase and other centers. Thus from the early 16th through the later 18th century, the western Volta basin was enmeshed in both north and south trade relations.

How did village life during this period of intense north-south trade compare to life during Asante and British overrule? Our insights are based primarily on excavations at Kuulo Kataa, augmented by information from Ngre Kataa (see below) and smaller-scale excavations at sites across the region (Smith 2008).

Houses in this period consisted of durable, coursed-earth (tauf) structures. Rooms were rectangular, but spatial data are insufficient to say whether rooms were organized around open courtyards as at Early Makala. Yet stratigraphic data show that houses were occupied for many years—floors were periodically renewed, and walls rebuilt, sealing earlier floors under ‘wall melt’ on top of which new rooms were constructed in similar alignment. The impression gleaned from architectural evidence is thus of villages continuously inhabited and buildings skillfully built.

Villagers of this early Atlantic period appear to have been far more invested in craft production than those of the later 18th and 19th centuries. Middens at Kuulo Kataa were characterized by abundant iron slag and thick ashy deposits interspersed with domestic refuse. A forge-like feature, related to iron smithing or processing copper alloys, occurred close to domestic features (a cooking hearth and structures).

Thus, by contrast to earlier and later periods, metallurgy appears to have been enmeshed in domestic life in this period. The volume of slag suggests iron production at a scale that exceeded local needs. Occasional crucibles and brass objects attest to the involvement in processing copper alloys that probably reached the area through the Middle Niger exchange. Though not at the scale described for Begho (Garrard 1980:41), evidence of copper processing at village sites like Kuulo and Ngre Kataas suggests that imported goods circulated outside entrepôts like Begho or Old Bima. Ivory was similarly worked and consumed at these early Atlantic period village sites, if in small quantities, a practice that ceased by the late 18th century (Stahl and Stahl 2004). Whether because of declining availability, increased international demand, or new sumptuary restrictions, villagers after the late 18th century neither worked nor consumed ivory in the way of their 16th- to 18th-century counterparts.

So too were there differences in the scale and intensity of pottery production. A single compositional group dominated Kuulo phase ceramics analyzed by INAA. We cannot as yet link this to a known clay source; however, there are sufficient commonalities with clays east of the Banda hills to suggest that production was centred there. This ceramic fabric is distinct in its predominance of crushed iron slag inclusions ('temper'). Crushed slag is ubiquitous in the "K1" compositional group (Stahl et al. 2008:375), and its presence in pottery suggests a complementarity of craft production between potting and metallurgy (e.g. Herbert 1993:203). While we know that in some areas of West Africa potting and metallurgy were 'casted crafts' (Brooks 1993; Tamari 1991), we should not assume that complementarity of crafts necessarily denotes the presence of 'castes' (Stahl in press). What is notable, however, is that pottery appears, in similar fashion to recent decades, to have been a geographically-restricted community specialization, though centred in villages east rather than west of the Banda hills in this period. There are similarities in form and decorative treatment with later period pottery, but notably the distinctive slag-tempered ceramic fabric all but disappears at the same time as smelting ceased within the context of village life. As such, our evidence suggests that the events that led to Begho's demise at the end

of this period reverberated throughout the region with implications for villagers' involvement in craft production.

American crops were first introduced to the African continent during the early Atlantic phase. Determining when they arrived in Banda has been a major focus of our work. Maize and tobacco appeared first in contexts dated to c. 1590-1660, suggesting that they rapidly disseminated inland. However, maize was rarely present and only in very small quantities. Pearl millet remained the staple crop in a pattern that persisted until the 1890s. Other crops included cowpeas, shea butter nuts, and less commonly sorghum. Grains of paradise (*Afromamum melegueta*), a spice grown on the African coast and much sought after in Europe, were also found (Logan 2012).

We have some evidence for inter- and intra-village variability in agricultural and economic practices. Maize was found in only one domestic structure at Kuulo Kataa, and was notably absent from three other structures and midden deposits at both Kuulo Kataa and Ngre Kataa. The structure where maize occurred was differentiated by a lower percentage of crop byproduct material, which may indicate that cleaned grain was acquired from elsewhere (Logan 2012). The structure is also distinguished by being the only domestic area with evidence for in-situ ivory working (Stahl and Stahl 2004). These differences between domestic structures hint at differential involvement in long-distance trade and in local economic activities such as farming.

The faunal assemblage from early Atlantic period contexts is distinguished by its size: we recovered nearly 30,000 NISP (number of identified specimens) compared to 7500 NISP or less in other periods, despite comparable volume of excavated soil. The assemblage is notable for the diverse array of wild and domestic animals represented. Mammals (including sheep/goat and cattle) dominate the assemblage, including both formidable species (hyena, lion, leopard and hippo) and less accessible forest species (Colobus and Diana monkeys) which suggest the activities of skilled hunters. Garden or opportunistic hunting is also suggested by several taxa, including turtle/tortoise, rodents, and lizards. Notably, the most common identifiable mammal is dog, which was both consumed and used ritually at Kuulo Kataa, a practice not seen in later phases (Stahl 1999: 27-35; 2008a).

The size and diversity of the faunal sample is surprising when we consider prevailing environmental conditions. Recent paleoenvironmental work at Lake Bosumtwi provides a high resolution view of changing precipitation over the last millennium (Shanahan et al. 2009). These data indicate a severe, centuries-long drought between c. 1450-1700. Yet there are no indicators that drought impacted the ability of farmers to cultivate enough to eat as no fallback or famine foods were recovered. More animals were consumed than in other periods, either as meat or in craft production. People seem to have been heavily invested in trade and to have produced a wide array of crafts. This economic diversity and the flexibility it allowed may have helped people cope with changing conditions. It seems that villagers of the early Atlantic period demonstrated a high degree of resilience that enabled them to weather a long, severe drought, a point to which we return below.

Village life in the context of Saharan trade (13th to the early 16th century)

Prior to the Atlantic trade, the zone along the forest-savanna boundary was deeply involved in northern trade, exchanging forest products for those obtained through Sudanic and Saharan networks. Copper alloy, particularly brass, was a Saharan import valued for local production of ornaments and ritualized objects, while occasional cowrie shells and glass beads--of diverse and distant origin--signal connections with regions even farther afield.

We've learned about village life in this period primarily through excavations at Ngre Kataa, dated through calibrated radiocarbon dates to the period from the early 13th century through the mid-17th centuries. As such, the site's occupation overlaps the period of Atlantic trade described above; pre-Atlantic contexts provide insight into village life in the period of Saharan trade.

Like villagers of the early Atlantic period, those of the Saharan period were deeply involved in craft production and produced an array of goods at scales that exceeded villagers' needs. Pottery of this period shared many technological and some stylistic similarities with later period pottery, suggesting a degree of continuity in practice. However, INAA

data tell us that pottery of the Saharan period was made at a variety of locales—both east and west of the Banda hills—and that while potters of this period pioneered use of slag in ceramic fabrics, slag-tempered pottery did not dominate. Rather, a mix of fabrics and inclusions was characteristic (Stahl et al. 2008:378-379). Moreover, pottery produced west of the hills circulated in villages to the east and vice versa in a pattern more similar to the later 18th and early 19th century one than that of the immediately succeeding early Atlantic period.

We have particularly robust evidence for metallurgical activities in this period. A well preserved metallurgical workshop at Ngre Kataa provides insight into the organization of work spaces and the ritualization of metal-working. Deeply stratified deposits accumulated through repeated, perhaps seasonal, use of this area for forging iron and casting copper alloy objects. Oxidized, fire-hardened deposits attest the high temperatures achieved in producing the range of tools and ornaments crafted on site. These included barbed projectiles, blades of various shapes and sizes, rings and bangles made of iron, copper alloy rings, figurines, and other ornamental pieces. Installations of anvil stones, whole pottery vessels and shrine clusters (e.g., Fig. 3.2) provided a technical and ritual scaffolding for productive activities (Stahl 2013) which almost certainly produced goods at a scale that exceeded villagers' needs. Notably, we did not find large quantities of iron slag as we did in village contexts of the early Atlantic period. This, combined with evidence for smelting furnaces of this period in outlying locations (Smith 2008), suggests that primary processing of ores occurred away from the village, with bloomery iron subsequently transported to the village workshop where it was forged and finished.



Figure 3.2. Shrine cluster consisting of a copper alloy double figurine, an iron bangle, a quartz pebble, iron blades and a bone fragment. The cluster was embedded in a metal-working. Scale in cm.

Turning to crops, pearl millet dominated, as in later phases, but more sorghum was present. Other crops included cowpea, okra, and shea butter nut. The presence of sorghum may be explained in part by prevailing environmental conditions; the data from Lake Bosumtwi show very humid conditions from c. 1250-1450 (Shanahan et al. 2009). Pearl millet suffers from too much rainfall, whereas sorghum is tolerant of wet conditions and even waterlogging. As such farmers may have opted for sorghum in their efforts to mediate too much, rather than too little, rain (Logan 2012).

Results of analysis to date suggest that mammals, and particularly bovids, again dominate the fauna. “Bovids” include domestic animals like sheep/goat and cattle, as well as wild animals. In both this and the early Atlantic period our samples are characterized by a higher proportion of bovids in general as compared to later times; these early phases are also notable for their emphasis on smaller bovids, which

would have included sheep/goat. As at Kuulo Kataa, dogs were also present in notable quantity and at times incorporated into shrine-related deposits. While our analysis is still preliminary, the array of wild fauna exploited appears more similar to that of the Atlantic period than to the garden-hunted assemblages of later times.

Concluding Thoughts

As made apparent by this condensed overview of Banda village life over the last eight centuries, we cannot assume homogeneity in ‘Iron Age’ village life. Daily life in the villages—where most people until recent decades lived—was affected by a range of factors: changes in environment; shifts in exchange relations and associated dynamics of regional political economies; newly available products and materials coupled with shifting demands on labour; warfare, slaving and associated political economic dislocation, among other factors. Banda villagers weathered these changes by adopting new strategies, altering old ones, or returning to tried and true methods (see a dynamic summary in Fig 3.3 below). Just as there were changes, so too were there continuities that speak to the generational transmission of practical repertoires that enabled villagers to respond to changing circumstances, as was made evident in the coping strategies of villagers during the crisis years of the early 1980s (Dei 1988; Posnansky 1980, 1984).

As in the early 1980s, villagers’ reservoirs of knowledge—for example of wild resources and technologies—have historically provided alternatives when inter-regional and international networks on which ‘modern’, ‘complex’ societies rely have been compromised. Crises of this sort have, in the past, underscored the importance of urban dwellers’ village ties. Yet these ties, important as they are, should neither be taken as links to life ‘as it was’, for villagers inhabit just as thoroughly a modern world as do urban dwellers, despite being “remotely global” (Piot 1999). Rather, the capacity of villagers to navigate changing circumstances while maintaining social and economic function is precisely what makes them resilient (cf. Hegmon et al. 2008). Important forms of practical knowledge--like which wild plants are edible--exist alongside a willingness to change when circumstances require--such as adopting new crop or crop varieties. If the

history of villages holds a lesson for the present, it is that flexibility and maintenance of practical repertoires that are key strategies for navigating the future, not stubborn stalwarts of an unchanging past.

Acknowledgments

We acknowledge with gratitude funding from the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (1989 G-5133 to Stahl; 2010 N013044 to Logan), the National Geographic Society (1990; Grant #4313-90), and the US National Science Foundation (SBR-9410726; SBR-9911690; BCS 0751350; BCS 1041948). Research has been licensed by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, and we have been kindly assisted by staff of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana in many ways over many years.

Our greatest debt is to the people of Banda whose hospitality and interest in the project have made our work possible. Our project has benefitted from long-standing support of Banda Omanhenes—Tolee Kofi Dwuru III and Nana Kwadwo Tsito—and the Banda Traditional Council. Special thanks to Banda people—too many to mention by name—who have contributed to the project over the last quarter century. Particular thanks to Mr. Enoch Mensah who has been a valued research assistant for many years, as well as the family of Mr. Sampson Attah, our community hosts. We have benefitted tremendously from the wisdom, support and friendship of these many people, whose support we gratefully acknowledge.

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Figure 3.3 Summary of continuities and discontinuities from the 13th to 20th centuries in the Banda area.

Phase Dates (cal yrs AD)	Ngre 13th-early 16th centuries	Kuulo 16th-18th centuries	Early Makala late 18th century-c. 1820s	Late Makala 1890s-1920s	Contemporary Banda c. 1980s-today
Settlement	Rectangular structures Coursed earth structures ?	→ Rectangular structures → Coursed earth structures → Compound organization	→ Rectangular structures → Coursed earth structures → Compound organization	→ Rectangular structures → Pole & daga? → Minimal residential unit	→ Rectangular structures → Coursed earth, block, cement → Compounds & minimal residential unit
Abandonment	Gradual?	→ Gradual?	→ Abrupt	→ Gradual & planned	N/A
Craft Production	Iron & lost-wax casting-on-site Ceramics-diverse sources east & west of hills	→ Iron-on site → Ceramics—east of hills	→ Iron-not on site → Ceramics-diverse sources east & west of hills → Textiles on site, household production	→ Iron? → Ceramics-mostly east of hills → Textiles on site, household production	→ Iron-imported → Ceramics-only west of hills → Textiles-imported
Subsistence	Wild & domestic fauna Consumption of dog Wild-diverse habitats Abundant bovids Pearl millet dominates; sorghum present	→ Wild & domestic fauna → Consumption of dog → Wild-diverse habitats, mix of specialized hunting → Possibly regional fish trade → Abundant bovids → Pearl millet dominates → Experimenting with maize & tobacco	→ Wild & domestic fauna → Dog not eaten → Wild-diverse habitats, less broad; more opportunistic local hunting, collecting → Fewer bovids → Pearl millet and sorghum in similar quantity → Low maize use → Yams?	→ Wild & domestic fauna → Dog not eaten → Wild-focus on localized settings, opportunistic garden hunting dominates → Fewer bovids → No sorghum, some pearl millet → Maize dominates → Cassava & yams present	→ Domestic fauna dominate, hunting limited by founding of Bui Park, hunting opportunistic, garden based; meat purchased → Pearl millet abandoned → Sorghum cultivated → Maize & yams preferred → Cassava dominates
Exchange	Regional trade in crafts, E/W of hills Subcontinental trade (northward looking) in copper alloys, beads, cowries	→ Regional trade in craft & subsistence items → Subcontinental trade (northward looking) in gold, copper alloys, beads, mediated by Begho	→ Regional trade in crafts, E/W of hills → Subcontinental trade (southward looking) in copper alloys, beads, gunflints; mediated by Asante	→ Contracted regional trade E/W of hills → Subcontinental trade (southward looking) expanded; beads, bottles, pipes & metal objects	→ Regional trade in pottery E/W of hills & local foodstuffs → Dependent on intercontinental trade for items used in daily life → Growing use of imported metal → Clothing mostly imported
SYMBOL KEY	→ Continuity	→ Discontinuity	→ Diminishing trend	→ Intensifying trend	

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Chapter 4

Combining Geo-Historical Information with GIS Techniques: An Example of the Historical Slave Route Heritage in Ghana.

Samuel Kwesi Osei

Introduction

UNESCO launched its 'Slave Route Project' in 1994. The purpose of the 'Slave Route Project' was to encourage the awareness of the implications of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Since then, there have been conferences, publications, exhibitions as well as the development of plans for the conservation of sites associated with the 'Slave Route' and cultural tourism. In his opening statement at the international conference on historic slave route held at Accra, Ghana on 30th August to 2nd September, 2004, Anquandah (2007) indicated that the Ghana branch of the slave route project committee was charged to conduct applied or developmental research on the historic slave traffic by laying emphasis on oral traditions, archival records, historical archaeology and diverse data embedded in, or associated with, traditional festivals, musical types, existing relics, walled fortifications, refuge caves, slave markets, transit points, cemeteries as well as slave prisons within European forts and castles. The committee's Itineraries and Public Relations Sector was also mandated to work with other Government agencies like the National Commission on Culture to develop an inventory of slave trade sites and relics and to conserve and preserve them in addition to labeling them as "*places of memory*" for locals and foreigners. GIS technology could be a useful tool in this endeavour.

Making reference to the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on the global front, Eltis *et. al.*, (1999) have produced a database on CD-ROM which contains the records of 27,233 datasets on the slave voyages made between 1595 and 1866. However, specific GIS work on the subject of slavery in Ghana is not captured in this huge project. While there is a lot of literature on the Atlantic slave trade and indigenous

slavery in Ghana, the material on the application of GIS techniques concerning the subject of slavery and the slavery heritage is scanty. It is this knowledge gap that inspired the writing of this paper. The use of GIS to tell and visualize the story of the slave trade in Ghana is of contemporary relevance. This educational approach to document history is likely to help promote serious cultural tourism in Ghana. The question is how can we use GIS to document and visualize the heritage associated with the trans-Atlantic slave trade and places of cultural memory in Ghana?

The paper presents basic information about what GIS is, why GIS and what a GIS can do. It also provides an overview of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in Ghana, a description of some GIS thematic layers and a discussion on how GIS could assist in national heritage and tourism planning as well as landscape archaeological studies in Ghana. The paper demonstrates that GIS is a powerful tool for any kind of documentation. It therefore calls for the incorporation of this state-of-the arts tool in the national heritage and tourism plan.

Overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in Ghana

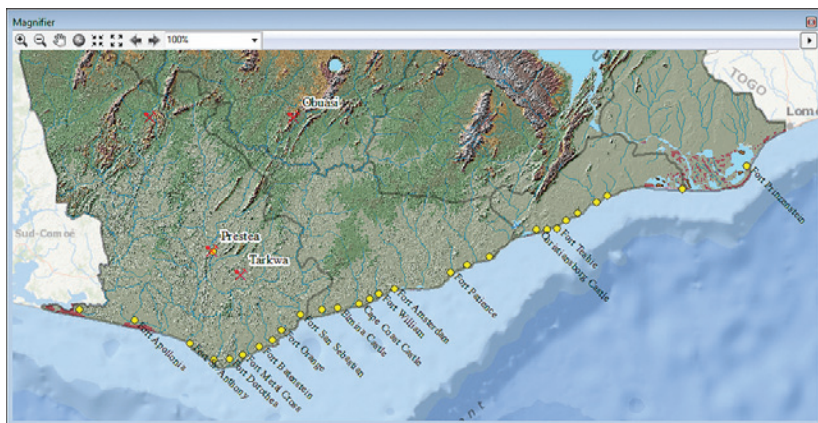
Slavery has been an important institution throughout history. It has been found in many places the world over, from the classical times until present (Lovejoy 2012). The concept of slavery is a complex social institution which is hard to define considering the western conception and the African ideology of slavery (Perbi 2004). According to Prebi (2004), not all the definitions, classifications and perceptions of slavery fits the African or Ghanaian context and that prior to the commencement of the Atlantic system, slavery already existed in Ghana. It is therefore important to look at the institution of slavery in Ghana as a unique entity with its characteristic traits (*ibid*). The trans-Atlantic slave trade was however different in the sense that it involved the mass movement of millions of Africans from their roots against their will to work on plantations in the new world (Eltis and Richardson 1997). The actual number of slaves shipped from Africa has been a subject of great debate. According to historians, the publication of Philip Curtin's census of the Atlantic slave trade in 1969 provided the

first reliable assessment of the entire volume of the Trans Atlantic slave trade between 1500 and 1867. The data gathered helped in explaining issues in slavery and migration and not only the slave trade (Eltis and Richardson, 1997). The data also indicated that between 1600 and 1870, a total of about 11,479,000 slaves were transported from Africa, with about 9.4 million reaching the Americas. Earlier figures presented indicated a much greater number compared to that of Philip Curtin. Map 4.1 shows that there was a tremendous increase in slave export between 1701 and 1810.

The period between 1811 and 1870 saw a reduction in slave export. Low figures were recorded prior to 1600. This low figures recorded could be associated with the fact that within the said period, records were not readily available (Eltis and Richardson 1997). According to Eltis and Richardson (1997), the recent dataset compiled at the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University, provides evidence that substantiates Philip Curtin's work in 1969. With this recent dataset, it seems like about 10.1 million slaves were forced to take the '*route to slavery*' from Africa to America from 1660 to 1867 with British, Portuguese and French ships dominating the trade. Philip Curtin also indicated that from 1650 to 1870, about 10.5 million people were placed on the '*route to slavery*' with about 8.9 million of them surviving the middle passage. It is assumed that, if for instance, one million slaves were exported from Africa prior to 1650, it presupposes that about 11 million Africans were forcibly moved from their roots to the New World between 1500 and 1870 (Eltis and Richardson 1997).

According to Anquandah (1999), the coastal region of Ghana, formerly called the Gold Coast, had the highest concentration of European military fortifications serving as tangible markers during the European contact period. These numerous forts and castles developed along the coast contributed to making Ghana the centre of about three-hundred years of trans-Atlantic slave trade (WTO/UNDP, 1996). Richardson (1994) indicates that the quest for gold and alternative routes to India was what motivated the Portuguese explorers to travel to the Gold Coast. The Portuguese monopoly over the gold trade which already existed in the Gold Coast dwindled due to the competition in trade with other European nations. Anquandah (1999) points out

that, there were approximately 80 fortifications of different types built over 300 years along the 500 kilometer long coastline of the Gold Coast. The qualities of the fortification were high. Statistics indicate that the Portuguese established 9 %, the English 20 %, Swede 7%, Dutch 37 percent Danish 14 %, French 7 % and Brandenburg-Prussia 6 % of such fortifications (Anquandah, 1999 p.20). It was from these military fortifications and trading posts that the Europeans interacted with the coastal African communities and their interior resource areas (Bredwa-Mensah, 1996).



Map 4. 1. Ghana: Coastal area showing forts and castles (yellow points) in relation to Geography.
Source: SRTM data for Ghana transformed to UTM Coordinates System. Available at (<http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org/SELECTION/listImages.asp>) Accessed 10/04/2013; ESRI ArcGIS Online World Oceans data.
Cartography by S.K. Osei.

Today, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) has designated 26 forts and castles as historic monuments including the 19th century Kumasi fort (WTO/UNDP, 1996). Three of the forts and castles (St. George's Castle, St. Jago Fort at Elmina and the Cape Coast Castle at Cape Coast have been designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WTO, UNDP, 1996). The conditions of the forts and castles range from well preserved, through deterioration to mere remnants and traces (van Dantzig, 1980). These historic monuments need to be preserved for the next generation. The trade in slaves was abolished by the Europeans and replaced by "*legitimate trade*" in the nineteenth century. Gold, ivory, oil palm and groundnuts were some of the

principal items of trade in West Africa (Law, 1995). Colonial products on plantations were encouraged by Europeans in some West African nations. A good example of this is the Danish Plantations set up along the foothills of the Akuapem Ridge and the estuary of the Volta River. Public and privately owned slaves were the source of labour on the plantations (Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland 1997). Law (1995), points out that the European commercial presence was encouraged by the so-called “*legitimate trade*” which mainly promoted their interest and later led to their meddling in the local politics within the West African sub-region. The result of the political interference was the partitioning of the region into spheres of influence and the onset of colonialism.

It is against this backdrop that this paper aims to demonstrate how GIS technology could be used as a tool to visualize the historic slave route heritage as an educational tool for students and tourists in Ghana and possibly other West African countries whiles promoting cultural tourism in the country.

What is GIS and What Can a GIS Do?

GIS is an acronym for Geographic Information Systems. Burrough (1986) for example, defined GIS as a “powerful set of tools for storing and retrieving at will, transforming and displaying spatial data from the real world for a particular set of purposes”. In a GIS, a thematic map has a table of content that allow readers to add layers (themes) of information to a base map or real-world locations, for example, roads, forests, rivers or settlements (Allen, and Coffey, 2011). With the ability to combine a variety of datasets in an infinite number of ways, GIS is a useful tool for mapping across fields of knowledge (see Lund and Sinton, 2007). Attributes can be displayed as symbols on maps. At the same time, the appearance and size of map symbols can vary depending on varying attribute values. A good GIS programme is able to process geographic data from a variety of sources and integrate it into a map project. A GIS works with many different applications: cultural and natural resources, regional planning, land-use planning, public utilities and communication, environmental analysis, emergency response, business markets, defence and intelligence, health, sociological analysis, crime mapping, besides others (Price,

2010). In June 2008, fifty different application areas were listed on the industries section of the ESRI Web site available at www.esri.com, each with examples, maps and case studies. Among other functions, a GIS can find the shortest route between two points on a road map, estimate and analyze the potential customers within a given distance of a new shopping mall, using geo-referenced population data, model environmental impact of a given discharge by using, for example, climate and soil data, estimate the number of potential clients within say ten minutes driving time of a particular shopping mall. GIS allows the use of data in new ways. Putting data on a map helps to ask questions such as *where? Why, how and what if?*

GIS Hardware, Software Data Sources and Software Selection

The hardware used for this paper includes a laptop computer, a scanner, a digital camera, a photocopier, and a printer. The software used was *ArcGIS version 10.1* and Google Earth Programme. A major source--secondary source—comprising of unpublished and published books, articles and government reports on national tourism development for Ghana as well as internet sources. Cartographic evidence from existing maps in analog form was used where available. The criteria for the selection of GIS software were:

- Ability to support vector and raster data structures;
- Ability to run on a PC windows 7 operating system;
- Suitability for inexperienced users (ease of use and training);
- License available from ESRI;
- Functionality required for the management needs of recording, retrieval, analysis and display of cultural resource inventory data (including maps, tabular data and scanned graphical documents).

Spatial Data Capture and Creation of Attribute Data

The base map used in this work was scanned, saved in JPEG format and added to the *ArcGIS version 10.1* software. Four *Ground Control Points* (GCPs) of key locations evenly distributed on the base maps

were obtained by the use of the Google Earth programme. On the basis of this, the base map was *Georeferenced* to convert the raw co-ordinates into real-world co-ordinates (Allen and Coffey, 2011). To translate information from the base maps into a GIS context and for presenting information cartographically, base maps were *digitized* (tracing the outline of features from the base maps; Chang, 2008; also See Table 4.1).

The slave routes were *classified* in ArcMap after *digitizing*. This process of capturing data from other maps is called *secondary data capture*. Attribute data is the descriptive data that GIS links to map features (Price, 2010). The procedure for the creation of the attribute tables involved the following steps: (1) compilation and the addition of text to the features in tables; (2) editing of tables; (3) *hyperlinking* of site photos and videos to forts and castles. Due to the nature of the base maps used, details of slave trading sites in the ANLO (Ada, Atorkor and Keta) areas in the Volta Region have been sacrificed (Greene 2011).

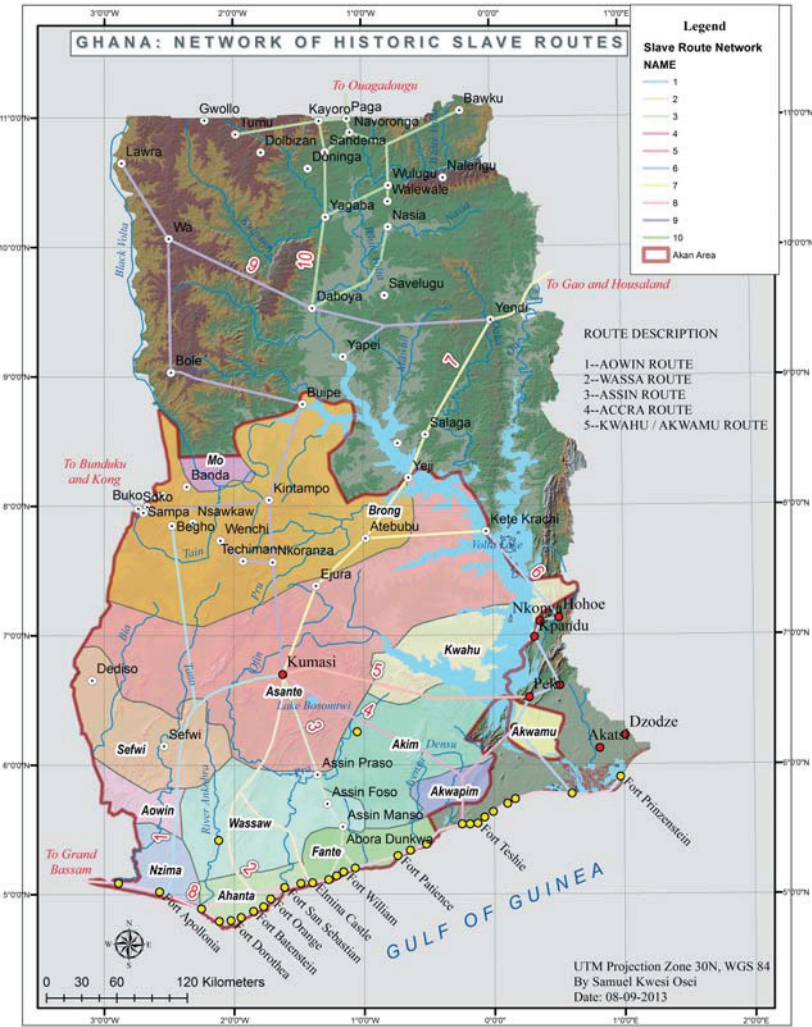
Description of How GIS Layers were Chosen

Geographic representations are organized in a series of data themes (sometimes called thematic layers). A data theme is a collection of common geographic elements such as an elevation surface, satellite imagery for a certain date, ecological zones of Ghana, slave markets and transit sites. Initial data converted into GIS format (*shapefiles*) and GIS layers were compiled from books (e.g. Daaku, 1970; Perbi, 2004), reports, historic map of the Gold Coast and adjacent territories in addition to conference papers presented in Accra specifically on the subject of slave trade. The initial base map (tourist map) at a scale of 1:50,000 was used to generate the country *shapefile* for Ghana. An inventory of sites on themes (layers) presented in Table 4.1 was created in Microsoft Excel. This showed the *site name*, *easting* and *northing coordinates* in the Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) system. Reflections on the slave trade in the Gold Coast, present day Ghana, GIS layers such as *Akan States*, *forts and castles*, *slave routes network*, *historic slave route towns*, *slave markets*, the *ecological zones* of Ghana and *water routes* were chosen for analysis and visualization.

This data was derived using Google earth and later saved as *CSV files* and worksheets. A named *personal geodatabase* with extension *.gdb* was created in ESRI ArcCatalog to house *shapefiles* created for manipulation and visualization. The entire GIS dataset created was projected to the UTM Coordinate system Zone 30N using ESRI Arc Toolbox. With the data created, GIS allows us to query geography (see *Maps 4.1, 4.4 and 4.5*), select features based on their attributes and location. It is also possible to create buffers of specified distances around features of interest; for example, archaeological sites and the forts and castles. With the data created, network analysis can also be carried out to determine the shortest possible routes between towns / sites and the corresponding travel costs for the purpose of tourism route planning.



Map 4.2. Ghana: Historic Slave Routes, Slave Markets, Forts and Castles, as well as Ecological Zones overlayed on Administrative Regions. Cartography, by Samuel Kwesi Osei



Map 4. 3. Akan States / Akan area in relation to Slave network in Ghana. Data Source: Anquandah, (2013), Daaku (1970), SRTM data for Ghana.

Brief Description of GIS Thematic Map Layers Used

As an introduction and explanatory notes to the GIS tool box presented as *Table 4.1*, there is the need for some reflections on what GIS is and what GIS can do. It must be noted that, geographic data is information on the earth's surface and the objects found on it. Geographic data or information comes in three basic forms: map data, attribute data and image data. With reference to the GIS tool box presented (*Table 4.1*),

- *Points* represent objects that have discrete locations and are too small to be depicted as areas. These include towns, Slave Markets, Forts and Castle. A point is given in geographic or Cartesian coordinates.
- *Lines* also represent objects that have length but are too narrow to be depicted as areas. A *line* consists of series of points. Usually the start and end are referred to as nodes. Examples include Slave Route network, water routes, modern roads and the like.
- *Areas* also represent objects that are too large to be depicted as *points* or *lines*. An area is thus a group of lines that create a closed set of boundaries. The polygons denoting Ghana's administrative regions, Akan States and the ecological zones of Ghana are good examples.
- *Routes* are complex objects that are composed by segments of a network like street network and historic Slave Route networks.
- *Regions* in this context are groupings of basic areas like administrative areas into higher order regions. The Ghana administrative regions or Akan States / area are examples.

Discussion of GIS Thematic Map Layers.

Geographic entities are presented as a series of thematic map layers in a geo-database. These include the *forts* and *castles*, *slave routes*, *slave markets*, *water routes / rivers*, *resistance sites* besides others. The section below presents a description of some of the thematic layers created.

(i) Forts and Castles

According to Anquandah (1999), the coastal areas of the Gold Coast (present day Ghana) had the highest number of European military fortifications and trading posts compared with other areas on the African coast. These fortifications are found dotted along the coast (see Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). Van Dantzig, (1980) points out that Fort Ruycbaver (1654-1659) in Prestea, along the River Ankobra in the tropical rainforest ecological region, was the only fort built inland (see Figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

These forts and castles which were initially used for the gold trade later became dungeons for keeping slaves. Was there the need for so many forts to be built along Ghana's coast? What is interesting is that foreign competitors felt the need to own fortifications on national basis. In this regard, the Dutch, English, Danish, Swede, French and the Brandenburg-Prussia made conscious efforts to follow the Portuguese example (Anquandah, 1999). In terms of geography, Ghana is blessed with Tarkwaian and Birrimian rock series found mostly at the southern edge of the country. These geological formations are believed to be very rich in gold (Kesse, 1985) (see fig. 4.1). The area between Accra and Axim has more of the colonial fortresses than other locations (Anquandah, 1999). The fortresses are about ten miles or approximately fifteen kilometres apart from each other. This area is characterized by rocky promontories jutting into the sea. Apart from this, the area is also blessed with indentations (bays) which naturally served as harbours.

East of Accra and also to the west of Axim, the area is low lying, lacked indentations and it is sandy. These locations were not very suitable for the building of fortifications. Fort Prinzenstein in Keta in the Volta Region and Fort Apollonia in the Western Region are very good examples of fortifications in these areas (see Fig. 4.1). Such geographical factors influenced the erection of fortifications along the coast of Ghana. It could therefore be inferred that it was the gold trade as opposed to the slave trade that accounted for the numerous military fortifications along Ghana's coast as indicated by historians (Curtin *et al.*, 1995).

Recognizing the role played by these places in the tragic part in human history, the forts and castles of Ghana have been designated by UNESCO as Word Heritage Sites. In recent years, international assistance has been provided to facilitate conservation measures of these

priceless heritage assets. It is interesting to mention that some African Americans, who see their roots to be tied to these locations, are opposed to any form of alterations that these monuments may undergo (Gates, 1999). In the writer's opinion, sections of these monuments suffering decay should be restored. These restoration efforts should be based on the tenets of the Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance). Again, the exterior façade of the monuments should be left as they are for visitors to appreciate the imbedded memory and their sentimental values.

(ii) Slave Routes and Markets

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, the term route refers to a way that you follow to get from one place to another. The concept of "Slave Route" is similar to routes such as the Iron and Silk routes. The slave route network in Ghana is a very complex one. New insight keeps emerging with ongoing research as demonstrated by Perbi (2004) and Anquandah (2013; Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). As evidenced from *figure 3*, several footpaths and five principal routes were used. They include; (1) the Aowin Route linking Kumasi to Aowin (2) the Wassa Route linking Kumasi to Denkyra to Wassa, Shama, Elmina and Axim; (3) the Assin Route also linked Kumasi to Adanse, Assim, Anomabu and Cape Coast; (4) the Accra Route also linked Kumasi to Akyem/ Akim through Akuapim to Accra. The last major route is (5) the Akwamu Route which linked Kumasi, to Dwaben, Kwahu, Akwamu to the Ada Coast (*See Edward Reynolds's Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807-1874, edited by A.A Boahen and published Longman in 1974, Great Britain for detailed discussion on the trade routes*).

Our knowledge of the trade routes at the genesis of the nineteenth century is based on travel records of T.E. Bowditch and Joseph Dupuis to Asante in 1817 and 1820, respectively. Reynolds (1974) indicates that the slave routes were mostly narrow bush paths that were overgrown with weeds or blocked by fallen trees. Kumasi, the capital of Asante (see Fig. 4.3), was the nucleus of trade. From this location, four routes radiated southward. Interestingly, the importance of these trade routes was the fact that most of the routes went through the rich gold mining areas of the Western Region, the Akyem area and further to areas around

European forts and castles. It thus suffices to mention that the slave routes in Ghana linked the interior slave markets and coastal ports with the New World through the Atlantic Ocean (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3).

Though numerous footpaths might have been followed by captives, nine significant slave routes during the period of slavery could be identified in Ghana (Perbi, 2004). On Fig.4.2, the slave routes are labeled and symbolized using unique colours for easy categorization and visualization. *Route (I)* linked Kumasi to Begho and Sampa slave markets in Brong-Ahafo region and further to Bouna and Bondouku slave markets in La Cote D'Ivoire. A branch of the same route linked Sefwi to Debiso in the Western Region. *Route (II)* linked Kumasi to Bono-Manso, Bole and Wa. *Route (III)* linked Kumasi to Kintampo, Buipe, Daboya and headed toward Jenne and Ouagadougou. *Route (IV)* also linked Kumasi in the Ashanti Region to Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo Region to Salaga, Yendi (Northern Region) and Kete-Krachi (Volta Region) slave markets and beyond. *Route (V)* linked Kumasi to Akwamu slave markets and further to Abomey in modern day Benin. A branch of the same route linked Accra to Kumasi with several minor branches linking the coastal towns at Ada in the Greater Accra Region to Winneba in the Central Region. *Route (VI)* linked Kumasi to forts and castles in the Central Region through Assin Fosu and Assin Manso. *Route VII* linked Kumasi in the Ashanti Region to Elmina in the Central Region with branches of the same route connecting forts and castles from Elmina to Axim in the Western Region. *Route VIII* also connected Kumasi to Assini and Beyin in the Western Region.

Considering the eastern corridor route which is *Route (IX)*, slaves were transported from Kete-Krachi slave market to Akwamu and further to Ada and Keta (Perbi, 2004). From Kete Krachi, a route passed through Nkonya, Kpandu, Kpeve, Ho, and Adaklu. The same route from Kete Krachi passed through Asadame across the Keta Lagoon to Atokor and Keta. It was through these routes that slaves from Atebubu, Salaga and Kete Krachi, for example, reached the coastal markets of the Volta Region (See http://www.ghana.travel/touring_ghana/other_sites/the_old_kete_krachi_slave_route/). It is visually clear from figure 2 that Kumasi was not far from the ecological transition zone. Kumasi's strategic location placed it at the center of Ghana's import and export

trade making the Ashanti Kingdom the most powerful kingdom in the 18th and 19th centuries. Though this strategic location of Kumasi was indicated by (Perbi, 2004), it was not possible to visualize this on a single GIS map.

Most slaves were captured in organized raids in the interior. Captives were then brought to the numerous slave markets on the coast and sold to Europeans and Arabs (Perbi, 2004). The exact number of slave markets in the country is not clearly known. From Fig. 4.2, a quick visual impression is obtained about the spatial distribution of the slave routes and markets in Ghana. In terms of spatial distribution of slave markets and town along the slave routes, Brong-Ahafo Region, Volta Region and the three Northern Regions tend to have more sites. It could be inferred that these areas were actively involved in slave raiding activities for captives. Taking a closer look at Fig. 4.2, it could be deduced that the entire nation was heavily involved in slave trading activities. “Nodal towns” such as Yendi, Salaga, Atebubu and Kete Krachi shown along *Routes IV* and *IX*, were also important locations. Perbi (2004) indicates that slaves were obtained from Kete Krachi, areas in northern Ghana as well as other areas in the country. Assin Manso Slave Market in the central region of Ghana is an important location along the slave trade route and was the largest slave market in the southern sector of Ghana.

Stops also exist along the way to markets, caves or transit camps. One of the important transit camps is located at Paga in the Upper East Region (UNDP/WTO, 1996). Perbi, (1994) indicates that some slave traders marched slaves from as far north as Salaga, Paga, both in the Northern and Upper East Regions respectively. Others were marched as far as Ouagadougou in present day Burkina Faso, Abomey in Benin and other areas (see Fig.4.2). According to Perbi (2004), among all the slave markets, that of Salaga in the north of present day Ghana is believed to be the largest in the entire country. The market was also held under a big baobab tree. Perbi (2004) indicates that it was the most important market where lots of trade items were traded for more than three centuries, and that from about the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century it was an important trading centre within the West African sub-region. Items such as beads, kola, gold, ostrich feathers and animal hides were also traded. Apart from the forts and castles

which were places for detention and embarkation, slave warehouses also exists in Salaga and other slave sites. Large buildings with adequate space near the slave market located in the centre of the town were used for the detention of slaves before they were transported to the coast for export to the New World. Imagine how captives travelled through the dense and thick forests to the coast, only to be kept in dungeons in the forts and castles waiting to be parked and shipped to the New World. What a painful ordeal that might have been.

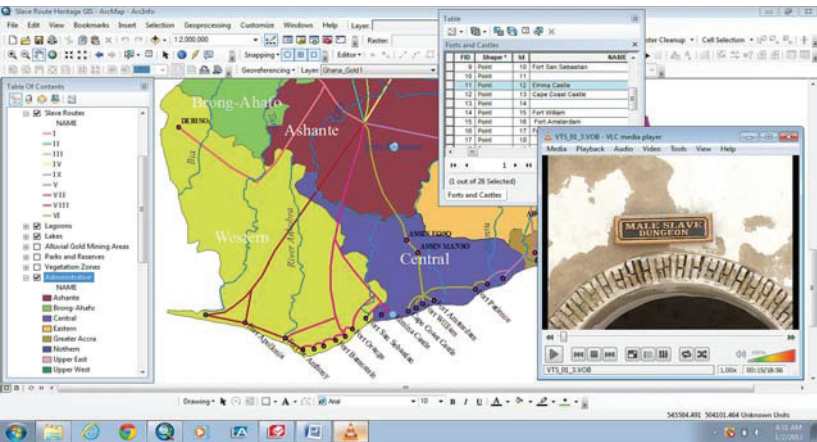
A project called, the “*Ankobra Gold Route Project*” has commenced in Ghana. It is a water route which was used by the Dutch West Indian Company to gain access to markets in the river Ankobra region resulting in the establishment of Fort Ruychaver (1654-1659). The *Ankobra Gold Route* is one that explores the culture and history of gold exploration in Ghana’s Western Region. The geographical expanse of the Ankobra Gold Route show historical, archaeological and ecological sites that have witnessed the interaction between the local population and the Dutch in the Gold Coast between 1600 and 1900 AD (see <http://www.ankobra.ghanawestcoast.com/ankobra/>). Fig. 4.2 shows the ecological regions in Ghana. In the extreme southwest is the rainforest associated with high rainfall of that area. The *Ankobra Gold Route* can be found in this ecological zone. The forest is dense and green all year round and also has a large number of flora and fauna and consists of three layers of trees called the upper, middle and lower layers each with its own features. The moist semi-deciduous forest occupies the southwestern section of Ghana and receives less rainfall compared to the former. These forests provide timber and non-timber products that Ghana needs and it is also where much of the nation’s cocoa is grown (UNDP / WTO, 1996). Interestingly, Kumasi which played a significant role in the slave trade in Ghana is located in this ecological region. Today, due to human activities, some of the semi-deciduous forest zones have become savanna just like the Guinea Savanna in the north of the country. Imagine captured slaves being made to walk long distances through these dense and thick forests in metal chains and shackles tied to their neck, waist, wrists and ankles restraining their movements amidst whip to the various slave markets, forts and castles, what an ordeal that might have been!

Table 4.1 The historic Slave Route and cultural resource inventory tool box and some GIS common representations. Adopted and modified from Source: Osei, (2006).

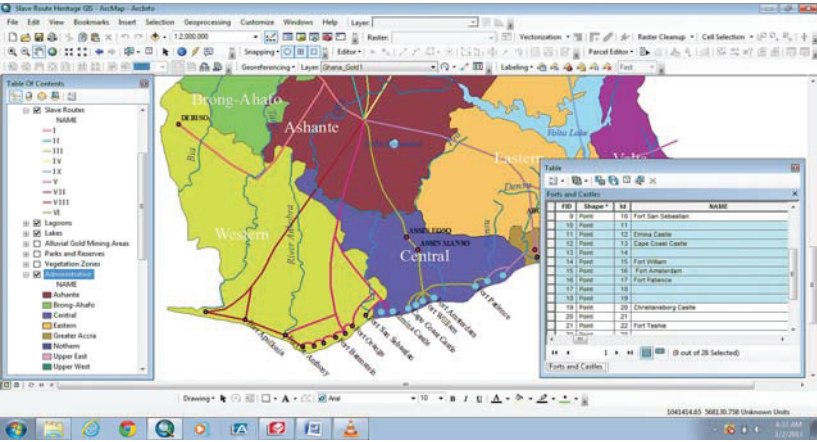
LAYER NAME	PURPOSE	FEATURE TYPE AND FORMAT FOR DESIGN	DESCRIPTION OF FURTHER WORK
Capture Zones	Visualization	Lines (Boundaries) (.shp)	
Resistance sites	Visualize defense wall against slave raids	Points (.shp) <i>shapefile</i>	Take GPS points for mapping
Water Routes	Visualize Slave River (River Ochi) and Ankobra River inland	Lines (.shp) <i>shapefile</i>	Take GPS points and map Fort Ruychaver
Land Routes	Visualize different Slave Routes: early / late	Lines (.shp) <i>shapefile</i>	Take GPS points of towns for mapping and visualization
Forts and Castles	(1) Query Geography using query builder button of ArcGIS 10 (2) Visualize Forts and Castles using <i>hotlinks</i>	Database Points (.shp) <i>shapefile</i> and Photos	• Create database in Microsoft Access format. • Include old and modern photos, plans and layouts
Akan States	Visualize Akan States	Polygons (.shp)	
Slave Markets	Visualize Slave Routes inland	Points (.shp) <i>shapefile</i> and Photos	Take GPS points for mapping

Table 4.1 continued

LAYER NAME	PURPOSE	FEATURE TYPE AND FORMAT FOR DESIGN	DESCRIPTION OF FURTHER WORK
Archaeological sites	Visualize the location of archaeological sites in Ghana	Points (.shp) <i>shapefile</i>	• Take GPS points for mapping. • Create database of sites and finds
Administrative Regions	Show location and boundaries of the various regions	Polygons (.shp)	Show spatial distribution of entities
SRTM 90 m Data for Ghana	Topographic visualization	Raster data	Transform to UTM system
Gold mining areas and towns	Visualization; link to Forts and Castles	Points (.shp); Polygons (.shp) <i>shapefiles</i>	Take GPS points for mapping



Map 4.4. Vector point data: In the view, a map of Ghana is examined at a scale of 1: 2,000,000. A hyperlink shows a display playback of a DVD video of Elmina castle and the slave trade, and an attribute table linked to the map. Data Source: Ministry of Tourism, Ghana; Elmina Castle.



Map 4.5. Vector point data: In the view, a map of Ghana is examined at a scale of 1: 2,000,000. GIS links attributes of the nine selected points (forts and castles) to their respective map features. Forts and castles selected by attributes are indicated in blue in both table and map in the view. Data Source: Ministry of Tourism, Ghana.

How GIS could assist National Heritage and Tourism Planning as well as Landscape Archaeological Research Application in Ghana

A GIS as described above could provide the National Heritage Planning authorities in Ghana with a powerful tool for generating permanent records of heritage sites and for planning purposes. Among the many benefits that may be derived through GIS application are buffer zone planning, site risk assessment and predictive location models. Others include landscape archaeological research, heritage protection and tourism planning.

Site Risk Assessment

Site risk assessment is another area where the use of GIS is viable when planning heritage tourism, heritage protection and conservation. Making use of *layers* such as topography (represented by a Digital Elevation Model), or roads and location from populated areas for example, an estimation of the possibility of a site being damaged can be made. Records can also be kept on such factors as erosion to determine if the site is at risk from the vagaries of the weather.

Buffer Zone Planning

Buffer zones are important mechanisms used for improving care, protection and management of inscribed World Heritage properties, both cultural and natural (UNESCO, 2009). In this context, core zones and buffer zones of world heritage properties in Ghana could be managed by different authorities. Because the World Heritage Committee valued the buffer zone concept, it included it in the operational Guidelines as one of the elements to be considered in the preparation of a nomination proposal (UNESCO, 2009). ArcGIS offers the opportunity to draw boundaries or buffers (exclusive zones) at specific distances around features to prevent encroachment on sites, the forts and castles as well as sensitive archaeological sites in Ghana.

Predictive Models

Predictive location models are tools for projecting known patterns of relationships into unknown times or places. These models are potentially useful in archaeology (Asch and Warren, 2000). In Ghana, archaeologists have documented only a fraction of sites while thousands of sites are destroyed each year to make way for ongoing land development. A good example can be found in Kpando Abanu Old settlement site in the Volta Region of Ghana where a potential Kintampo cultural site is being destroyed to make way for ongoing land development (Apoah in prep). Dalton (2000) indicates that one way to ensure that we understand the value and protect these archaeological sites is to create formal models capable of predicting where they are located. For instance, using themes that have known habitation factors, such as vegetation, water sources, known sites, food sources, shelter, and slope, areas with the highest correlation can be located.

Landscape Archaeological Research Applications in Ghana

GIS has been used for archaeological research (Chapman, 2011). Ironically, the application of GIS for archaeological studies in Ghana is new. Fields such as Landscape Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management (CRM) could take advantage of this new tool toward the creation and maintenance of a cultural resource inventory database, testing old hypothesis and generating new ones. Landscape archaeology can be defined as ‘the study of spatial relationships between humans and their physical, social and cognitive environment’ (Box, 1999). The potential for GIS-based research in landscape archaeology with reference to Ghana is very high and should be encouraged.

Conclusion

In this paper, a few of the potential benefits of the use of GIS techniques in geo-historical studies have been demonstrated. GIS is a tool that requires enforcement on the ground. In this work, GIS provided an avenue for visualizing aspects of the historic slave routes heritage and for the purpose of heritage planning and landscape archaeological

studies in Ghana. The research required making maps that had to be compiled from many sources. Using *ArcGIS version 10.1* from ESRI, all information data layers from existing paper maps (all set to the same projection) could be examined together. This makes it easy to see patterns and spatial relationships between the historic slave route, slave markets, and the ecological zones of Ghana. With this useful tool, heritage protection and conservation institution in Ghana would generate permanent records of the nation's heritage sites. Implementing a GIS would therefore be a positive step toward the preservation and protection of both the cultural and natural heritage for the next generation. Income would also be generated through tourism for the long term protection of these sites of memory. It is expected that the government of Ghana, perhaps supported by an international agency could pick up the main ideas as a basis for developing a fully fledged computer package for education and tourism in basic schools, colleges and universities.

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Chapter 5

Maritime Archaeology in Ghana

Gregory D. Cook

Introduction

The perfection of a self-contained underwater breathing apparatus (S.C.U.B.A.) in the 1940s granted access to the underwater world on an unprecedented scale, and archaeologists soon took advantage of this technology to investigate underwater sites. In 1949 French divers recorded an inundated Roman site at *Fos-sur-Mer* (Beaucaire 1964), and numerous other Mediterranean sites were investigated in the 1950s, though usually with divers working under the direction of archaeologists who remained on the surface. This changed in the 1960s, when George Bass and other trained archaeologists donned dive gear and conducted the first scientific underwater excavation of a shipwreck site in Turkey (Bass 1967). Although these early efforts focused on Mediterranean waters, nautical archaeologists have now expanded into other regions where shipwrecks provided insights into the human past (Babits and Van Tilburg 1998: 115-140; Staniforth 2011: 561-564; Werz 2011: 473-475).

While maritime archaeology in Sub-Saharan West Africa is still in its early phases, several projects have been conducted by archaeologists in Ghana as part of their doctoral research out of Syracuse University. Recent work conducted in Ghana includes the author's dissertation research (Cook 2012), as well as doctoral projects directed by Andrew Pietruszka (Pietruszka 2011), and Rachel Horlings (Horlings 2011). These have mainly been on maritime archaeological surveys, shipwreck investigations and site formation processes at Elmina, Ghana. Past projects in the broader West African region include a survey and underwater investigations off Gorée Island, Senegal (Guerout 1996), research in the Cape Verde Islands (Smith 2002), and excavations on a wreck site off Gabon identified as the Dutch East India Company ship *Mauritius* (L'Hour and Reith 1990).

Maritime Archaeological Research in Ghana

The maritime research in Ghana extends from archaeological work conducted by Christopher R. DeCorse at Elmina Castle (DeCorse 1987; 1989; 1992; 2001). Some of his subsequent work expanded into nearby areas such as Eguafu, Brenu Achyinim and Coconut Grove for a more regional perspective that spans the era of pre- and post-European contact (DeCorse 2008: 89; 2005: 3). As part of this broader focus on Ghana's Central Region, DeCorse initiated the Central Region project, which targeted examinations of areas "beyond the castle", both in the coastal hinterland as well as offshore to gain a better understanding of the broader trade networks in the region and their impact on the socio-political organization of coastal polities (Cook and Spiers 2004; DeCorse 2001, 2005; DeCorse et al. 2000; DeCorse et al. 2009).

Clearly, the long period of active maritime trade in Ghana makes it an excellent choice for conducting maritime archaeological research. The coastal waters of Ghana, known by the Portuguese as the *Costa da Mina*, and in later English sources as the "Gold Coast" (Hair 1994: 43; DeCorse 2001: 7) provide an excellent venue for archaeological investigations due to the intensity of seaborne trade that occurred off Ghana's shores (Map 5.1). Beginning in the late fifteenth century, interactions between West Africans and Europeans centered on coastal settlements where trade was conducted within a maritime context (e.g. Barbot 1992; Blake 1967; Bosman 1967; DeCorse 2001: 21; de Marees 1987: 8-10; Hair 1994). This exchange represented a dynamic network, involving trade goods from Europe, Asia, and Northern Africa, and eventually the Americas. After arriving at the coast in the holds of ships, these commodities were exchanged for goods and enslaved Africans coming from the interior through indigenous African trade networks. As such, this traffic provides a critical example of the emergence of a global economy and of the role non-Europeans played in this socio-economic interaction.

Beyond the scope of the vessels themselves, any system of maritime transport relied on a multifaceted infrastructure of ports, harbors, building and maintenance facilities, and other supporting structures that might be considerably distant from the shore or coastline to help the system function properly. Such factors are just a few of the reasons

why maritime archaeology is making important contributions to our understanding of humanity's past.

Shipwrecks hold the potential in presenting an entirely new perspective on the contact period in Ghana by yielding original examples of the trade goods and other material culture exchanged in this region. Ships were intrinsically instrumental to the creation of the Atlantic World, and not only traversed geographical boundaries, but can be considered geographies unto themselves (Ogundiran and Falola 2010: 35). Due to this unprecedented degree of maritime trade, the Atlantic Ocean had become the "inland sea of Western Civilization, a new Mediterranean on a global scale, with old seats of culture on the east, a great frontier for expansion on the west and a long, integral African shore" (Franklin and McKee 2004: 1). If, as Paul Gilroy argues (1993: 16-17), ships should be thought of as cultural and political units rather than abstract embodiments of trade, then an examination of wreck sites involved in the West African trade promises significant insights into the material exchanges that occurred in the development of the Atlantic World.

The scientific study of the tangible remains of boats, ports, ships and seafaring is a crucial aspect of archaeology, considering the impact that oceans, seas, rivers and other bodies of water has had on humanity. Though sometimes seen as barriers, waterways have more often been a mechanism for human movement. While some forms of watercraft could have been as primitive as floating logs or rudimentary rafts, for many pre-industrial societies waterborne vessels were among the most complex structures built by humankind (Steffy 1994: x). Vessels of any complexity required specialized architecture and design to function in two media (air and water), and to float, move and transport people, goods and ideas from one point to another with a decent chance of survival. In addition, a means of propulsion had to be incorporated into any vessel's design be it wind, paddle or engine, and this could add significantly to the complexity and organization of watercraft. Finally, even the simplest boats needed crew who were specialists at working the vessel, and more complicated ships could require hundreds of individuals, all of whom had to be organized for surviving and working

efficiently within a complex machinery of extremely limited space (Muckelroy 1978: 215-225; Pomey 2011: 26-27).

Shipwrecks were catastrophic events, and the resulting submerged archaeological sites often preserve materials rarely found in land sites (Hamilton 1996: 4). In West Africa, goods that arrived safely on the coast were quickly dispersed into the hinterland, and only a fraction of material might enter the terrestrial archaeological record. Therein lies the potential contribution of nautical archaeology in Ghana: the ability to recover a large amount of material culture involved in African-European trade with the possibility of tight temporal contexts and potential national origins for the wrecks investigated. If such sites can be accessed and studied archaeologically, they will result in new insights into Ghana's contact period and maritime trade.

The Elmina Wreck Project

Archaeological surveys for shipwreck sites are typically carried out with one of two objectives in mind; either the archaeologists seek a specific wreck known to have sunk in a particular location, or they search for unspecified wreck sites in areas likely to contain sunken vessels (Tuttle 2011: 115; Watson 1998: 319). A review of primary and secondary documents often reveals numerous accounts of vessel sinkings on the Ghanaian coast, but in general the descriptions only provide vague indications of location. Due to this lack of specificity, a broader survey conducted in an area considered likely to contain shipwrecks seemed the best approach to locating submerged archaeological sites.

Although there are numerous trading forts and other locations along Ghana's coastline likely to yield historic shipwreck sites, due to budget and scheduling issues the survey was confined to Elmina (Map 5.1). The trading entrepôt known as *São Jorge da Mina* was a key point of trade for over four centuries and therefore was considered to carry the highest probability of shipwreck sites. A review of nautical charts and historical documents related to navigation along the Ghanaian coastline led to a strategy focusing on two specific areas for remote sensing survey off Elmina (Map 5.2). Survey Area 1A was considered the highest priority, and includes the waters directly offshore of Elmina

Castle which saw extensive maritime activity and served as the main anchorage for vessels involved in trade at the entrepôt. Survey Area 1B is near the Busum Accra reef system, which is a hazardous navigational obstacle encountered to the west, and in the path of any ships sailing too close to shore (Africa Pilot 1953: 376). This area has the potential to be a “ship trap”, a term referring to a navigational hazard that could be a likely location for historic wreck sites (Throckmorton 1964: 51-61).

The most efficient means of conducting surveys for submerged cultural resources involves towing sonar and/or magnetometer sensors equipment behind a research vessel (Bowens 2009: 103). The Elmina Shipwreck survey utilized a standard, field-tested combination of an EG&G 866 marine magnetometer and a Marine Sonics 600 kHz side scan sonar. Briefly, the magnetometer allows detection of ferrous metal anomalies, which on historic wreck sites might be caused by anchors, iron cannon, chain, fasteners, etc (Gearhart 2011: 91). Side scan sonar uses acoustic energy to image the seafloor, covering wide swaths of area quickly from a towed sensor or ‘fish’ (Atherton 2011: 1.7). Both systems have benefits and drawbacks: a magnetometer can detect both exposed and buried sites, but requires diver investigation to determine the source of the anomaly. Side scan sonar allows the operator to “see” the seafloor in high resolution, but anything buried remains hidden in the sonar record. Ideally both systems are used for marine surveys. Integrating these remote sensing systems with global positioning systems allowed us to run these devices in controlled survey lanes to systematically cover our survey areas.

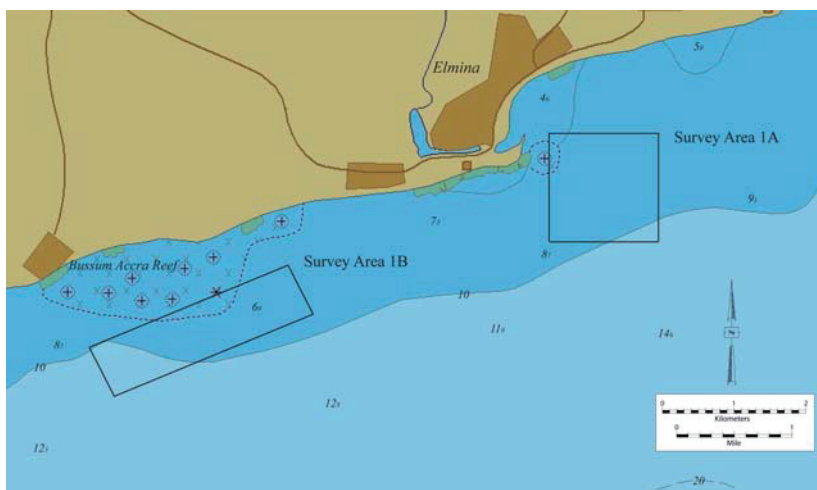


Map 5.1. Map of Ghana showing early coastal trading locations including Elmina, Shama and Axim. Map by G. Cook.

Using this research design, maritime archaeologist Michael Tuttle and the author conducted the first maritime archaeology remote sensing project in Ghana in 2003, using a 15 meter long Fanti dugout canoe as a research vessel (Map 5.1). The magnetometer functioned poorly, which we attributed to interference from Ghana's ferrous-rich sediments (Rachel Horlings later successfully completed magnetometer surveys offshore of Elmina, proving that our problems were likely mechanical in nature). Relying on side scan sonar, most

of the survey Areas 1A and 1B were completed in eight days, totaling nearly four square kilometers of seafloor coverage.

Analysis of the sonar data led to the identification of 58 anomalies, broadly defined as any bump, shape, or object that does not appear to be part of the natural seafloor. With the remaining time and budget, we began preliminary dive investigations of the anomalies, and on the second dive, we encountered a mass of cultural material on a site designated as 12.1 from our survey, including iron cannon, brass basins, rolls of lead sheathing, and manillas (Map 5.2). Time allowed for only preliminary mapping and recovery of artifacts, but it was clear that a significant wreck had been located that was worthy of further study, and this was named the “Elmina Wreck.”



Map 5.2. Survey areas offshore of Elmina. Soundings are in metres. Map by G. Cook.



Figure 5.1. The survey setup during 2003 field work. The author is in front of the desktop computer running the sonar software, with the sonar “fish” by his right hand and GPS antennae behind him. Photograph by Michael Tuttle.

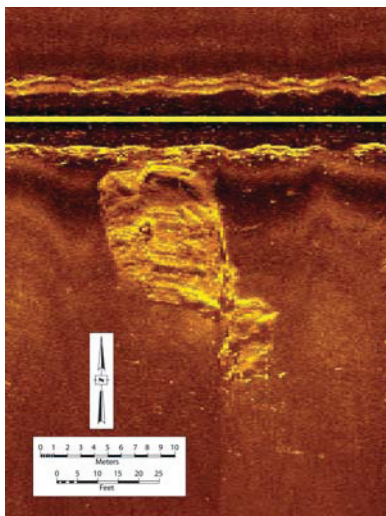


Figure 5.2. The side scan sonar record for anomaly 12.1. The horizontal line near the top of the image is the track of the sensor as it was towed behind the canoe. The diamond-shaped image below the track line indicates an anomalous feature on the seafloor, which divers verified to be the Elmina Wreck. Image by G. Cook.

In 2005 archaeologists and students from Syracuse University (SU) and the University of West Florida (UWF) returned to Ghana with the goals of completing a site map of the Elmina Wreck and recovery of diagnostic artifacts to determine the vessel's date and nationality. Divers utilized a surface compressor system that provided air through hoses while working on the wreck (Fig. 5.3). Both in 2003 and 2005 divers encountered zero visibility on the seafloor, likely due to strong surge suspending sand and sediments in the water column (Horlings found that diving at other times of the year improved visibility). To safely begin mapping the site in such conditions, divers placed series of datums around its perimeter by driving sections of rebar into the bottom, and connecting the datums with line that provided a safe means of circumnavigating the site in zero visibility. As divers became more familiar with the site, and after removing an extensive amount

of net material, we extended knotted lines across the wreck, allowing greater access to interior features for mapping and recording.



Figure 5.3. Diving on the Elmina Wreck Site. Pictured include Andrew Pietruszka, Jason Raupp, and Barnabus Akon. Note the surface air supply or “hookah” unit beside the canoe. Photograph by G. Cook.

This methodology proved adequate for generating a preliminary site plan with minimal risk to divers (Fig.5.4). We recorded all exposed features on the site, which included multiple nested stacks of brass and pewter basins, pans and bowls, numerous cask features of manillas, a concentration of concreted barrel hoops, concretions of trade beads, rolls of sheet lead, and five large iron cannons. Although the muzzle-loading cannons appeared to be of relatively early manufacture, heavy concretion obscured any details, and budget limitations prevented

raising and conserving any of the guns. The initial recovery of artifacts, summarized in Table 5.1, yielded a mix of materials ranging in date throughout the contact period, and it was clear that the assemblage included intrusive artifacts embedded within the wreck site.

Ceramics, which are often one of the best indicators of date, included a variety of types dating to varied periods of manufacture. The base of an Iberian polychrome *albarello* or drug jar likely dates to the mid-sixteenth to -seventeenth centuries. An intact olive jar most resembled examples recovered from the *Tolosá* and *Guadalupe* shipwrecks that sank off the Dominican Republic in 1724 (Marken 1994: 102, 136-137). Multiple examples of complete and fragmented Nassau reddish brown stoneware jugs with small lug handles are known from nineteenth century contexts at Elmina (DeCorse 2001: 153).

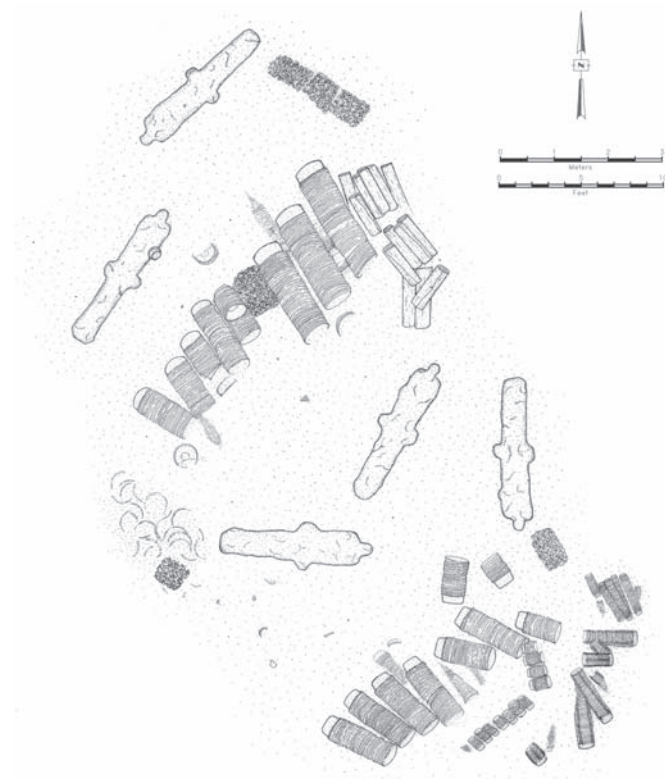


Figure 5.4. Plan of the Elmina Wreck after the 2005 season. Features include iron cannon, stacks of nested basins, rolls of lead sheathing, barrel hoops and piles of manillas. Map by G. Cook.

Table 5.1. Artifact Types and Counts Recovered from the Elmina Wreck.

Artifact Class	Count
Bone	16
Brass Basins	74
Brass Pins	17
Bricks	5
Ceramic-Imported	12
Ceramic-African	2
Glass Beads	3000+
Glass Bottles/Fragments	20
Iron Concretions	24
Lead Sheathing	1
Manillas	44
Pewter Basins	19
Shell (cowries)	32
Stone/Ballast	1

Other finds include numerous glass bottles, including onion and case bottles dating to the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century, and wine and champagne bottles made in the nineteenth century. Glass beads numbering well into the thousands were recovered by divers during the 2005 season, and they were analyzed as part of an M.A. thesis by UWF student Lisa Hopwood (2009; see also Cook 2012: 171-175). Hopwood identified sixteen separate type-varieties of beads from the wreck site, and are summarized Table 5.2. Unfortunately, small beads of the types found on the Elmina shipwreck were common for the entire contact period, with “many billions landing in barrels, cases and casks from start to finish of the Atlantic slave trade” (Alpern 1995: 221).

Table 5.2: Elmina Wreck Bead Assemblage³

Type	Count	Manufacture	Structure	Shape	Length	Diameter	Diaphaneity	Color
1(IIa*)	51	D	S	DN	1.1-2.3	1.9-3.4	TL	Orange
2(IIa*)	92	D	S	DN	1.0-2.4	2.0-3.1	TL	Yellow
3(IIa*)	14	D	S	DN	0.9-2.1	2.2-2.9	OP	Yellow
4(IIa*)	57	D	S	DN	0.9-2.3	1.9-3.5	TL	Dk Grn
5(IIa*)	60	D	S	DN	0.9-1.9	2.0-2.9	OP	Lt Grn
6(IIa*)	1,985	D	S	DN	0.7-2.2	1.7-3.6	TP	Blue
7(IIa*)	71	D	S	DN	0.8-2.0	2.0-3.2	OP	Lt Blue
8(IIa13)	3	D	S	GL	2.8-4.1	2.6-3.9	OP	White
9(IIa15)	1	D	S	CL	6.3	3.2	TL	Yellow
10(IIa*)	4	D	S	SB	4.6-5.5	3.5-4.5	OP	White
11(IIbb*)	1	D	CPX	CL	1.7	3.2	OP	Blue
12(IIbb*)	8	D	CPX	DN	1.5-2.2	2.2-3.3	OP	Ylw/Green
13(IIIa10)	38	D	CPD	CL	4.9-13.8	2.1-4.2	OP	Blue/Whit
14(Iva6)	71	D	CPD	DN	0.9-2.0	2.0-3.3	OP	Red/Green
15(Iva11)	921	D	CPD	DN	0.9-2.5	1.9-3.6	OP	White
16(IVb16) 199	D	CPE	DN	1.5- 3.1	2.5-4.1	OP	Red/ Blue	

- 3 Table 5.2 utilizes data taken from Hopwood (2009: 61), but the format here follows DeCorse's Systematic Bead Description System (DeCorse et al. 2003). The Type number designates the classification of the Elmina Wreck bead assemblage as determined by Hopwood, with the number in parentheses referring to comparable types in Kidd and Kidd (1983) or Karklins when indicated with an asterisk (Karklins 1985). All beads recovered from the wreck are of drawn manufacture, and bead structure is designated as simple (S), compound (CPD), complex (CPX) or composite (CPE). Shape designations follow DeCorse (2003: 91-101) and include doughnut (DN), globular (GL), cylindrical (CL), and short barrel (SB). Diaphaneity refers to the ability of the bead to transmit light, and is designated as opaque (OP), translucent (TL) or transparent (TP). Colors are determined using the *Munsell Book of Colors*. For more specific information on the bead assemblage from the Elmina Wreck, see Hopwood (2009: 60-76) and Cook (2012: 171-175).

Metalwares constituted some of the more interesting diagnostic elements of the assemblage, and included basins of various sizes made of brass and pewter, as well as brass manillas and lead sheathing. Divers counted 34 nested stacks of basins on the site, and many more undoubtedly remain buried. Archaeologists recovered 74 brass basins from the site, and UWF student Nicole (Hamann) Davis defined four different types within this number based on form and morphological traits (Fig. 5.5) as part of her thesis research (Hamann 2007: 138-144). Type 1 brass basins exhibit riveted rolled handles and average 24.85 centimeters (9 3/4 inches) in diameter and 11.5 centimeters (4 1/2 inches) in depth. Type 2 basins have slightly convex sides, flat rims and an average diameter of 16.68 centimeters (6 1/2 inches), with a depth of 4.4 centimeters (1 3/4 inches). Basins designated as Type 3 have rolled rims and straight sides sloping to round bases, and measure 14.95 centimeters (5 5/8 inches) in diameter and 6.8 centimeters (2 3/4 inches) in depth. Type 4 represents the largest brass basins with diameters of 41.87 centimeters (16 1/2 inches) and 8.5 centimeters (3 3/8 inches) in depth. While most of the basins have no obvious wear or damage, others exhibit dents, cuts and breaks that appear to have occurred prior to shipment, as they were found in nested stacks with variable damage between pieces. Radiographs of the basins indicate hammer marks, suggesting that they were produced by the battery process, and many of them show striae or annular grooves, likely applied as a finishing technique (Cook 2012: 183-189; Hamann 2007: 138-144).



Figure 5.5. The basin assemblage from the 2005 Elmina Wreck investigations. Numbers represent types assigned by Hamann (2007: 138-144). Photograph by Nicole Davis.

In addition to the brass basins, pewter basins also made up a portion of the Elmina Wreck's cargo. Stylistically, the pewter basins are consistent with a probable seventeenth-century Dutch origin (Cook 2012: 197; Pietruszka 2011: 100-101). Eighteen samples, designated as basin Type 5 in Davis' typology, are characterized by a plain rim and rounded base, with a boss or raised well, and measure 28.61 centimeters (11 1/4 inches) in diameter. Type 6, a single, larger pewter basin, is 33 centimeters (13 inches) in diameter, but contains no raised boss in the center. All of the pewter basins bear the mark of a crowned Tudor rose with the initials "B" and "H" in the crown, which is closely associated with continental manufacture (Cook 2012: 195; Hamann 2007: 157-158).

Along with the basins, a total of 44 manilla samples were recovered, analyzed and conserved at the University of West Florida. They were recovered from six defined stacks that still retained the shape of casks

which had degraded after the ship's sinking. Details of the manilla analysis can be found in Cook (2012: 176-178), but they average 162.2 grams (5.72 ounces) in weight, with a maximum width of 9.33 centimeters (3.67 inches).

Further Research

Despite the wide chronological range of artifacts recovered from surface collection and limited excavation, our prevailing theory was that the earlier elements of the artifact assemblage were more likely to be associated with the wreck site. In this scenario, after its deposition on the seafloor, the site constituted a hazard which "collected" later material being transported in the heavy surge and currents along the coast. Thus extensive excavation into more secure contexts on the site would likely yield a tighter range of artifacts and serve as additional evidence as to the date and nationality of the wreck site. In 2007 SU doctoral candidate Andrew Pietruszka directed further diving operations on the sonar anomalies detected in 2003, and returned to the Elmina Wreck for more intensive excavation when no additional sites were discovered.

Pietruszka's excavations on the Elmina Wreck resulted in a significant addition to the overall assemblage recovered from the site, and the majority of his finds were in buried contexts down to approximately 40 centimeters (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches) in depth (Pietruszka 2011: 88-94). The analysis of these artifacts verified the site's disturbed nature, with evidence of modern intrusive material extending to the deepest levels of excavation. Clearly the larger, immovable objects such as the cannon, manillas, lead sheathing, brass and pewter basins are likely associated with the vessel, and any smaller, lighter objects should be considered potentially intrusive (Pietruszka 2011: 95). In addition to the larger items, Pietruszka argued the beads, cowrie shells and brass pins found in large numbers and contained within concretions are also likely associated with the wreck.

Rachel Horlings, while also working on her dissertation research at SU, initiated work on site formation processes during the 2007 season. In 2009, Horlings returned to Ghana for additional survey and diver investigations, focusing on site formation processes related

to submerged sites on Ghana's coast. Her methodologies included remote sensing survey and microsampling of sites by coring seafloor sediments (Horlings 2011: 101). Horlings' survey and coring data verified the dynamic nature of the seabed offshore of Elmina, with sedimentation types and rates changing drastically in a short period of time (Horlings 2011: 190). While conducting coring operations on the Elmina Wreck as part of her research, Horlings recovered samples of wood from the buried hull of the vessel. Radiometric dating of these samples later determined that the vessel likely sank between 1642 and 1664 (Cook 2012: 241-244). This matched closely with a reference discovered by Pietruszka and DeCorse regarding the loss of the Dutch West India Company vessel *Greoningen* in 1647, which caught fire when firing its guns in a salute to Elmina Castle after arrival to the coast (Pietruszka 2011: 169-170).

Conclusion

With the completion of four seasons of investigations on the Elmina Wreck, it is clear that pioneering maritime archaeological research in the region has been a success. A significant shipwreck site containing a cargo of trade items inbound to the coast has been verified, with a tentative identification as a mid-seventeenth century Dutch West India Company (WIC) vessel. Neither archaeological evidence, nor archival evidence (if the wreck is in fact the *Groeningen*) provides insight into its intended trade. While it might have been a slave ship, it should be kept in mind that many vessels sailing to the region at this time traded for commodities such as ivory, gold and other African products. Between 1674 and 1730, the Dutch West India Company equipped 383 vessels for the slave trade, and 334 vessels for the commodity trade (den Heijer 2003: 148-150; Postma 1990: 100). While slaves could technically be bought anywhere along the West African coast, for most of the seventeenth century the Slave Coast and Loango-Angola coast were the main destinations for slave ships. Elmina was a central source for the commodity trade in the seventeenth century, however, with 296 out of the 334 WIC commodity-trade ships (nearly 90%) sailing directly to this port, 5 vessels making a combined stop at Elmina and another port, and only 33 vessels bypassing Elmina

entirely. Although the specific timing of the shift from the gold trade to the slave trade in the broader region is still debated, there is general consensus that this occurred on the Gold Coast in the second half of the seventeenth century (DeCorse 2001: 26, 201). While we may never know if the captain of the Elmina Wreck was intent upon purchasing slaves or commodities for his cargo, considering the trends for the mid-seventeenth century it is probably more likely that the Elmina vessel was in the region for the commodity trade. Further assessment of this issue might serve as one of the research questions for future investigations of the site.

Regardless, our research shows that there is great potential for maritime archaeological studies in Ghana. While the turbulent coastal waters, heavy surge and strong currents present some challenges, clearly there are wrecks that can provide significant insights into the early African trade. In essence, we are looking into the shopping cart of the “floating supermarkets” that vessels employed in the African trade had to become in order to insure successful trading in the region (Hopkins 1973: 111). In the broader West African exchange system, trade goods found in the Elmina Wreck testify not only to the static commodities making up the cargo of a ship, but of the trajectories of these commodities in African-European exchange. Interpreting material culture from the Elmina Wreck through such a lens leads to a richer understanding of this contact.

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Chapter 6

Gender in Archaeology: A Ghanaian Perspective

Gertrude A. M. Eyifa-Dzidzienyo and Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng

Introduction

Gender studies in archaeology are part of a broader debate in social sciences and arts, concerning the role of women and classification of sex roles. In archaeology, gender was discussed mainly in the work of feminist scholars (Claassen 1992; Conkey and Gero 1991; Conkey and Spector 1998; Dark 1995: 109; Gilchrist 1998; Kent 1998; Nelson 1997; Spector 1993 and 1998; Wylie 1991). However, gender-based perspectives have now spread into the wider archaeological community, such that non-feminist archaeologists consider gender, or the role of women, among their research topics. Gender is not only about women only. Gender refers to cultural norms, ideals, expectations, and rules that shape the relationships and activities of men, women, and children in society.

The term sex and gender are often used interchangeably. However, these words actually are not the same and refer to different things. Sex is static, biologically determined and unchangeable although one's sex can be changed through modern surgical operation. Gender on the other hand is a dynamic concept that is context and/or time-specific and changes across cultures. For instance, when a child is born, the sex can be observed as either male or female. Only in few instances do we see a child with both sexes (hermaphrodite). However, as the child grows, society picks on the sex of the child to assign him/her a gender identity as man or woman. Sex and gender has been defined and approached in diverse ways by many scholars. Sex is the biological classification of male and female, while gender is socially constructed (Folorunso 2007:353). Rightly or wrongly used, sex and gender are used to define people, their relationships to others and their places in society. Observable biological traits, particularly genitalia, are

usually used to distinguish the sexes, but the emergence of sex-change operations does not permit such simplistic sexual divisions based on biology (Folorunso 2007:353; Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998:3).

Gender is defined as “socially constructed identities” (Preucel and Hodder 1996:415). It is conceptualised as culturally and socially constructed and as historically and culturally contingent. It is recognised that gender roles and relations are constituted and given meaning in historically and culturally specific ways. “Gender, then is a constitutive element of human social relations, based on culturally perceived and culturally inscribed differences and similarities between and among males and females” (Conkey and Gero 1991:8). Conkey and Gero (1991:9) have also noted that “gender is not only a relational, social process, and a dynamic of human social and cultural life, but in fact is a primary structuring principle, in the sense that gender beliefs, roles, et cetera, set certain foundational parameters and establish certain guiding ‘rules’ for the enactment of daily life”. Stated in a different way, “gender may be the central structuring principle of human social and cultural life, the ground upon which everything else is built” (Preucel and Hodder 1996:418). Simply, gender is socially, culturally, psychologically and historically constructed identities based on biological sex categorization. At different ages and in different social contexts, the meaning of gender changes because it is fluid. If archaeology provides insight into past life ways (men, women and children’s way of life) through their material remains, then gendered activities could be made “visible” in the archaeological record and through archaeological inquiries.

Gender in Archaeology

Gender studies in archaeology emerged in the 1980s through feminist activities after realising the male bias in the practice and interpretation of archaeology. Gender concerns bring a balance in archaeological interpretation. Conkey and Gero (1991) are of the view that:

“For archaeologists, the study of gender cannot be reduced to nor is it dependent upon traditional epistemology and methods for making gender activities “visible” in the archaeological record, nor are there any universals or generalisations

to be invoked or assumed in archaeological enquiries. The conceptualisation of gender as a process means that archaeologists must be cautious about any simple equation of male, of female, of gender with any tool, feature, activity, role or ideology” (Conkey and Gero 1991:9).

Claassen (1992:2) has observed that although archaeologists speak of the social organisation of past cultures, yet we ignore gender. She further explains that gender can be productively incorporated into our enterprise and indeed provides nothing short of a revitalisation movement for archaeology, offering new vigor to research undertakings as it has in many other academic fields (Claassen 1992:2). In her view, without a doubt, gender impacts the archaeological record as well as archaeologists and archaeological inquiry (Claassen 1992:2).

Three aims have been proposed by Conkey and Gero in dealing with the subject of gender in archaeology (Folorunso 2007:356). These are:

First, ‘to continue to expose gender bias in all phases of archaeological inquiry, from assumptions and concepts, to models, to the nature of acceptable evidence, to received knowledge; then, to “find” women in archaeological contexts and to identify their participation in gender relations, gender ideologies, and gender roles; and finally, to problematise underlying assumptions about gender and difference’ (Conkey and Gero 1991:5).

The examination of gender, however, has not been totally ignored in archaeological investigations. According to Conkey and Spector (1998:12), in spite of the absence of serious methodological or theoretical discourse on the subject, the archaeological literature is not silent on the subject of gender. Archaeologists study of gender structures or gender behaviour in past human life is problematic because it is permeated with assumptions, assertions and statements of “fact” about gender.

This problem is traced to ‘the male-centred or androcentric bias in archaeology’, which reflects the dependence upon the ethnographic record in archaeological work. Archaeology is said to inherit ‘the

theoretical and methodological biases and problems of the anthropology that generated the ethnographic interpretations and data' (Folorunso 2007:357). Nelson (1997) notes that, the goal of gender archaeology is not to 'make grand statements about women's past, even when juxtaposed against man's past, but rather to elicit all the rich variety of experiences, behaviours and symbolic systems, of social, economic and political arrangements of many kinds' (Nelson 1997:17 cited in Folorunso 2007:357). While the gender issue is not simply a question of 'men' and 'women', the issue of gender being raised in archaeology is obviously intended to address the presumed marginalisation of women's role in the past (Folorunso 2007:358). Archaeologists can "use" gender to "do" more and to "say" more; gender can illustrate the ways in which particular roles and relationships in society are constructed (Conkey and Gero 1991:12-13).

It has been noted that at present there is no single theory of gender beyond the broad recognition that it plays a significant structuring role in social life (Preucel and Hodder 1996:420). This means that although gender as a lived experience is expected to vary across cultures, it should be possible to identify gender roles in every social activity among different societies. The idea of gender as a structuring principle calls for a realignment of traditional archaeological categories that trivialise, minimise, degrade, and/or ignore what are thought to be women's contributions and roles in production and cultural construction (Conkey and Gero 1991:9). Age is an important variable in the analysis of gender, and variation in age is crucial to understanding gender (Folorunso 2007:355). According to Preucel and Hodder (1996:419),

The study of gender in archaeology has two related concerns. The first is the evaluation of our standard assumptions and models to show how they reflect the dominant political ideology, which systematically ignores and marginalizes women in the present (gender ideologies). The second is to show how these models have been used to exclude women in interpretation of the past (gender bias).

Women in the Practice of Ghanaian Archaeology

Ghanaian archaeology has been predominantly dominated by male scholars. The nation Ghana has been archaeologically studied from prehistoric to this contemporary period by both men and women. Sites in Ghana, such as Kintampo, Begho, Bono Manso, Elmina, Ayawaso, Ladoku and Yikpabongo were studied by scholars like Thurstan Shaw, Oliver Davies, B. K. Swart, Bassey Andah, Colin Flight, James Anquandah, James Boachie-Ansah, Kodzo Gavua, K. Effah-Gyamfi, Peter Shinnie, Francois Kense, Paul Ozanne, Merrick Posnansky, L. B. Crossland, E. K. Argosah, Christopher DeCorse and Yaw Bredwa-Mensah, just to mention but a few of the names. However, there were women who also participated in the practice of Ghanaian Archaeology. They include Joanne Dombrowski, Signe N. Nygaard, Ann Stahl, Joanna Casey, Natalie Swanepoel and Amanda Logan. Women have also played essential role although these women were not Ghanaian trained. In the 1960s, some of the men archaeologists closely worked with their wives while on site and off site. A typical example is Peter Shinnie who always worked hand in hand with his wife Ama Shinnie on and off site. He also worked with his first wife Margaret during the University of Ghana excavations in Nubia (personal com. James Anquandah 18/03/2013).

Apart from archaeological researches, women such as Esther Goody, Sonia Fortes, Barbara Priddy and Alexandra Wilson have also contributed immensely in museums, ethnoarchaeology and ethnographic study of aspects of life of Ghanaians. Until 2005, there was no woman trained in Ghanaian archaeology. In 2007, the first two Ghanaian women archaeologists, one of whom is the author of this paper, trained in the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana received their Master of Philosophy degrees that qualified them as practicing archaeologists. They were also employed by the University into the teaching field and they are the only women in the midst of fourteen men archeologists currently in the Department of Archaeology and heritage studies at the University of Ghana. After successfully completing their MPhils, the first two women paved the way and

have become role models. Additionally, three women have completed the Master of Philosophy program awaiting their degrees and three are in the second year of their program. The future is very bright for women. Subsequent years have seen more women enrolling in the undergraduate and Master of Philosophy programs in Archaeology. Over fifty (50) percent of students in the final year undergraduate program in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies from 2011 to 2013 were females. It is hoped that these women will make archaeology their profession.

Male archaeologists have dominated the heritage management structures in Ghana. However, during the era of expatriates work at the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB), Barbara Priddy worked at the National Museum and conducted extensive ethnographic documentation of pottery (Priddy 1974). No Ghanaian woman archaeologist has worked at the GMMB. Indeed, women have been involved in GMMB activities performing various roles notably, administrative, educational and curatorial. Joyce Aryee served in the administrative division of the GMMB up to the early 1980s. Josephine Quainoo worked at the educational division and headed it before retiring in the late 1990s. Again, Brigid Sackey an anthropologist served as a curator at the National Museum in the mid-1980s before taking up her present appointment at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon. From the early 1990s, women have continued to be employed at the GMMB; however no woman has ever occupied key management position. This is due in part to the short duration women have served because of the lack of incentives for persons in the heritage sector of Ghana which have affected the retention of staff.

Gender Interpretation in Ghanaian Archaeology

Ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological researches in Ghana have revealed that the material culture unearthed by archaeologists is made by different gender groups. Archaeology in Ghana features many topics such as food production and preparation that can be looked at from a gendered perspective by asking the right questions. From the archaeological record such as Kintampo cultural material that dates

as far back as 2000BC, it is possible to identify various gender groups that worked on the farms, in the kitchen and in the workshops by asking the right question about the makers of the cultural materials (objects) and not being solely interested in the objects. If archaeologists will be interested in the “makers” of the cultural materials as they are in the objects, when analyzing, then gender can be made visible in the archaeological record.

In other parts of Africa, there are visible indications of gendered activities in the archaeological record. In the record of rock paintings and rock engravings (4500-2000BC) in the West African Sahara, there are vivid images and/or scenes depicting shared domestic activities by men and women. Some of the activities include stock breeding, milking of cattle, foraging/collecting, cooking, grinding and upbringing of children (personal com. James Anquandah 18/03/2013).

For instance, the ethnographic record of the potting traditions in Krobo, Shai, and Kpando; Abompe bauxite bead making and Talensi architectural construction when analysed from a gendered perspective will reveal the gender roles played by men, women and children in society. Evidence from the ethnographic record is often used as analogies in the interpretation of the archaeological record and to trace the activities and roles played by different gender groups. Within the social sciences, including archaeology, there is the widespread assumption and reinforced culturally specific biases that claim men belong in the important public sector and women in the secondary private sphere. These universalized assumptions should provide the basis of critique and evaluation of the archaeological record (Preucel and Hodder 1996:419; Spector 1993:8).

Gender roles, relations, and beliefs, like most other aspects of culture, vary widely and frequently change over time (Spector 1993:8). Gender is not universal but varies across cultures and is also a social and cultural construct hence every archaeological record needs to be analysed and interpreted in context. Contextual analysis and interpretation can elucidate the gender roles played by men, women and children in every society to eliminate biases. The sections below are selected case studies that interpret gender roles in the production of cultural materials.

Gender Analysis of Kpando Pottery Production

Pottery is an object made of baked clay. The objects are made by molding or shaping moist clay and hardening it by heating in a kiln. It is one of the most abundant materials to be found in archaeological sites whether whole or fragmented. Generally, women are known to work with clay to make pottery but this might not be true in every society. A gendered analysis of pottery retrieved from excavation can be made by taking into consideration the type of society being studied, the functions of the pot, the manufacturing processes and trade in pottery by simply asking the question who does what at every stage. Asking the right questions will reveal the gender group(s) behind the activity.

Pottery is almost always considered the work of women, but in observing the production process and in using gender analysis, it is obvious that other gender groups also contribute to pottery production. The assumption that women are responsible for pottery production is a grave over-generalization. Men and children play important complimentary roles in the production process. Gender roles constantly interact in unique and complimentary ways. Therefore, one role played by one gender cannot be considered as better or superior to the other. In analyzing the different stages of pottery production from a gendered perspective, it becomes clear that women are not the only actors in the production process. Some roles played by other gender groups are quite evident, while other times there is simply gender role overlap as gender group(s) carry out certain activities together.

The initial stage of clay collection has an obvious male contribution. The research conducted by Amedvor (1993) on Kpando pottery industry at central Kpando in the Volta Region of Ghana, describes that men did the digging for clay from Torkor or Fesi in the dry season when the soil is harder. This specification insinuates that women carry out this role at other times of the year. So even in the initial stage of production, it is accepted that women are not the sole gender group involved in pottery production. Without clay as the raw material there will be no pottery. Archaeological excavations undertaken by Apoh (2008, 2013) in the early sites of Kpando Abanu and the German/British colonial sites at Kpando Todzi has revealed early Abanu

pottery remains as well as those bearing contemporary pottery features. However the ongoing analysis is yet to show the gendered dimensions of the remains.

Preparation of clay and temper is the second stage of pottery production. Amevor (1993) assigns this role to women, but whoever carries out the complementary tasks, such as, fetching water is rarely specified. It is likely that this is carried out by children (males and females).

The third is the forming of vessels. This is the step most obviously associated with women, but is the easiest to ignore the contribution of other gender groups. It is likely that children are at least indirectly involved through complementary tasks such as fetching water and the decoration of vessels. Men could be part of the process when it comes to the painting of vessels. It is possible to have the involvement of all the gender groups in the formation of vessels.

The fourth and fifth stages, drying and firing respectively is less clear which gender groups generally carry out these tasks. It may be that women largely carry out the entirety of these tasks or that all gender groups participate. One must also consider complementary roles, such as the gathering of firewood for the firing stage and the packing of pots before and after drying and firing. In instances like this, it is important to delve deeper by asking the right questions and seek further ethnographic information in order to properly attribute gender roles to avoid blanket generalizations.

The final stage of distribution is another stage in the production process that sees the involvement of more than just women. Distribution is not only the selling of vessels at markets, but also includes loading and transportation, which are complemented by the aid of men. Also, vessels may be transported in baskets and nets, which are made by different gender groups. The production of baskets and nets are complementary roles. Therefore, in the last stage of pottery production it is clear that more than one gender group is involved in the process. Until such detailed analysis of gender roles are made, the complementary roles played by men and children will be ignored and women will be seen as the sole makers of pottery.

Gender Analysis of Abompe Bauxite Bead Making Industry

Beads can broadly be described as objects of various shapes, sizes and colour from natural or artificial materials that have perforations or holes through which they can be strung. Raw materials used in making beads include stone, shell, bone, tooth, seed, kernel, wood, metal, glass, clay, plastic, ivory and bamboo. Beads are cultural materials found in archaeological excavations. The people of Abompe in the Eastern Region of Ghana use bauxite as the raw material in making beads. Bredwa – Mensah (1996) has extensively studied the production process. Dartey (2007) also provides insight on the same process but from a gendered perspective.

Both scholars were able to bring out the unique and complementary gender roles played by men, women and children in the bauxite bead production process from chipping of bauxite, drilling of holes into the preforms, stringing on metal rod, polishing and washing, stringing on threads and final distribution. For instance, from a gendered perspective and by asking the right questions and using the right research methods, Dartey (2007) was able to document the social dimension of the bead production process where age was perceived as a major contributing factor.

She indentified that first, young males and females within the age range of 17-30 years usually carry out the production of small sizes of beads used as waist beads by women or worn around the wrists in a number of bands. The reason being that, the cutting, drilling and stringing of small pieces of bauxite requires good eye sight dexterity and smartness. Young people also produce medium sized beads used as necklaces.

The second group consists of adult males and females within the ages of 30-52 years engage in the production of large beads worn around the neck or the wrist. It is relatively easy to cut, drill and string the large sized beads. Young men are contracted by the elderly women to undertake the polishing of the beads which is seen as tedious.

Furthermore, children's role (both sexes) in the production process involves the stringing of the drilled pieces of bauxite on metal rods for

polishing. This aspect of the bead production, though time consuming requires no particular skills or very little amount of energy, hence, easily performed by children of both sexes.

Therefore, it is possible to analyse excavated beads based on the type and function and the makers and users from a gendered perspective to make visible the voiceless and the gendered roles of men, women and children who are often times overlooked. When such interpretations that make all voices known and heard are made, there will be a balance in our archaeological interpretations. However, this can only be achieved when there is gender awareness and gender sensitivity in archaeological researches.

Conclusion

Gender studies in archaeology are not extensive in Ghana. The reason is that women in the profession are few and the voices of women in the interpretation of the Ghanaian archeological record are also limited. There is a strong male bias in the questions asked and interpretations given so the presence and voices of more females are required to ask balanced questions and interpretation of the archaeological record to reflect different gender groups. Ghanaian archaeologist, both men and women, need to be well informed on gender issues in archaeology by getting access to relevant current publications on the subject.

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Anthropological Examination of Yeji Salt Trade and its Linguistic Repertoire

David Akwasi Mensah Abrampah

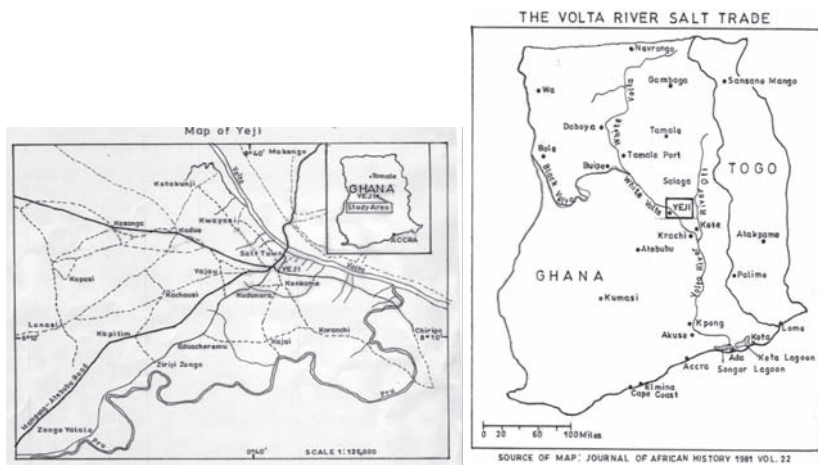
Introduction

In Ghana salt trade was one of the major components of regional trade in the eighteenth century and was highly profitable (Dickson 1966:423). In as much as salt featured prominently in the Trans Saharan caravan trade which could be dated as far back as the 10th century (Bovill 1968:160), the Ada salt was also the most striking characteristic of the Volta River trade during the 18th century (Sutton 1981:52). In fact, salt has been a “foreign” trade item not obtainable from Yeji’s local ecology, nonetheless it has perfectly been adopted and adapted and incorporated into the linguistic repertoire and indigenous cultural milieu of Yeji. This write-up represents an investigation into the interaction between language and social history, language and ecology, language and salt as a trade item. Salt as a trade item has almost become synonymous with the town—Yeji. As a community that never produced salt, vocabulary for salt in the area and salt proverbs probably developed from the time they started trading in salt.

A Brief Multi-Linguistic Background of Yeji

Yeji is found in the Pru District and is located in the north eastern side of the Brong Ahafo Region along the Volta Lake (Map 7.1). Yeji has been described as one of the best examples of towns which developed at a point where a major trade route crossed a river in Ghana (Benneh & Dickson 1988:136). It is connected by ferry to Makango on the northern bank of the Volta Lake from where Salaga and other parts of the Northern Ghana can be reached. The strategic location of the town has turned it into an important market center and a major transport hub. It serves as the transit point for goods and people traveling between the north and the south of Ghana.

The indigenous people of Yeji are the Nchumuru, a member of the Guan language group that once populated large parts of Ghana since prehistoric times. They however still retain their social system and subsistence practices (Agorsah, 1985:103). The Nchumuru people of Yeji are a segment of the larger Nchumuru group in the northern part of present day Volta Region of Ghana. Some of the Volta Region Nchumuru areas are Grubi, Bejemso, Borae, Boafori, Chindiri and Banda, who are also referred to as the Northern Guan,



Map 7.1: Map of Yeji Showing the Volta River salt trade during the 18th century

There is considerable amount of mutual intelligibility among the Nchumuru languages spoken in Yeji, Prang, Dwan and Krachi. However, there is not much intelligibility between these dialects and Gonja, (Dakubu & Dolphyne 1988:77). The neighbouring Prang variant of Nchumuru is the lexically closest to the type of Nchumuru spoken in Yeji. This is because the Prang Nchumuru has about 79% lexical resemblance with the Nchumuru spoken in Yeji, (Dakubu & Dolphyne 1988:78). All these cognate dialects which are derived from a common stock, Larteh language, must have evolved over several centuries. According to Dakubu and Dolphyne (1988:79), Guan languages began to differ from each other at least 22 centuries (2200 years) ago and they are spoken in linguistically heterogeneous and highly multilingual contexts.

Other ethnic groups such as the Gonja, Hausa, Fante, Fulani, Dagaati, Ewe, Konkomba and Ada are also present in Yeji. The congregation of all these ethnic groups and the cultural contacts between them has brought about tremendous social transformation. Their continuous interaction, co-existence and growth have resulted in intermarriages and mix parentages which have turned Yeji into a cosmopolitan cultural-scape. A good number of people in Yeji have also acquired proficiency in speaking the Ada language in addition to their own original languages. In effect, the average person in Yeji is a polyglot due to long periods of ethnic heterogeneity. Among the numerous settlements along the Volta River, Yeji is one of the few towns that were not resettled under the Volta Lake Resettlement Scheme in 1966. This has made the area to enjoy a long and undisturbed settlement history.

The presence of the Ewe group at Yeji could be attributed mainly to fishing activities and to a lesser extent, the salt trade since they somehow dominated the trade in the eighteenth century (Sutton 1981:48). However there are no records indicating that the Ewes brought salt to Yeji for sale. The Gonja might have also benefited from the Yeji salt market when they brought “Daboya salt” to be sold in Yeji. The mutual proximity and intelligibility between Gonja language and Nchumuru language of Yeji probably encouraged interaction between the two groups. The Dagaati and Konkomba are the forces behind massive yam production in Yeji. The fertile agricultural land of Yeji and a thriving salt market might have attracted them to Yeji during the transformation of Yeji during the creation of the Akosombo Dam in 1966. The Fulani who live on the fringes of the Volta Lake have also found Yeji to be a good place for rearing cattle because of the vast grazing lands available. The establishment of a Fante community (Fante Akura) at Yeji could be attributed to their dependence on the fishing business. The arrival of the Fantes injected a new spirit into the fishing business. Fante men are acclaimed experts in fishing; their women are also said to be celebrated fish-mongers. In an interview, the Yeji chiefs claimed that the Hausa were initially contracted by the Yeji traditional authorities to play drums for the king, around the seventeenth century. This explains why their settlement is found close

to the Yeji palace. Presently the Hausa are mostly engaged in trading and in the transport business in Yeji.

Linguistic Anthropology of Salt at Yeji

The linguistic aspects of salt that were investigated included proverbs that carried messages on salt, local songs that mention the word “salt” in the lyrics (with or without concealed meaning), and the names of persons and places that refer to salt.

Salt Related Proverbs

Proverbs are central to the art of private and public speaking. They form part of the spoken words of a people and can be expressed through other forms of communication such as names for pets, jewelry, hairstyles, cloths, beads as well as drumming, (Domowitz 1992:1). Proverbs are succinct and enlightening and they contain some traditional wisdom and a resource through which speakers can achieve their rhetorical goals (Charteris-Black 1995:1). They are also an important source of insight into the cultural norms and beliefs of the speakers of a given language (Charteris-Black 1995:8). Proverbs are often related to analogies, similes, and metaphors in such cases the hearer resorts to conversational implicatives (Charteris-Black 1995:1). The integration of proverbs into the life of the people of Yeji extends to their use as names for pets, for people, and material culture such as salt, beads, jewelry and cloths. It is against this background that proverbs on salt were gathered at Yeji. Some of the Yeji salt related proverbs are shown here (Table 7.1) in addition to their literal translation into the English language. Their cultural, environmental and symbolic meanings are also examined.

Table 7.1: salt related proverbs

Proverb	Ethnic origin of the proverb	Literal translation in English	Remark
<i>Tete gina awo mfrɔ dengwa ama nu kae</i>	Nchumuru proverb	A goat which has developed a strong appetite for salt does not fear anything	Trading in salt was as irresistible as its taste
<i>Nkyene nkamfo ne ho sɛ ɛyɛ dɛ</i>	Akan proverb	Salt does not boast of its sweetness	It doesn't pay to indulge in self-praise
<i>Waka nkyene agu</i>	Akan proverb/ metaphor	He/she has pushed salt onto the ground	salt is given equal prominence as a king
<i>Kaano bo kɔne fe mfrɔ</i>	Nchumuru proverb/ simile	His/her mouth is as sweet as salt	The taste of salt is equated to a person's verbal wit.
<i>Dzɛ kotoku deka medea Kratsi o</i>	Ewe proverb	You don't go to Krachi with only one bag of salt	In trade one has to take advantage of the ready market and maximize profit

1. Nchumuru proverb: *Tete gina awo mfrɔ dengwa ama nu kae*.

English: A goat which has developed a strong appetite for salt does not fear anything.

Salt forms an important aspect of livestock diet. According to the sixty-one year old linguist of Yeji, Akyeamehene Nana Awanta who gave this proverb, when ruminants such as goats detect the presence of salt in the household, they try as much as possible to gain access to the salt and consume it. It is not only animals; humans also cannot live without salt (McDougall 1990:231). What this suggests is that because of the sweet taste of salt, the goat would ignore all caution and concentrate on reaching the salt. This signifies that it is very difficult

to do away with acquired bad habits. The proverb may also indicate the resilience of the Yeji salt traders in the face of colonial policies which sought to push them out of business through the introduction of heavy taxation on the salt trade as noted by Sutton (1981:56) and Maier (1986:19-20).

2. Akan proverb: *Nkyene nkamfo ne ho sɛ ɛye dɛ.*

English: Salt does not boast of its sweetness.

The informant, who was a forty-two year old Ada woman and salt seller, indicated that in spite of the appetizing taste that salt gives to food, it does not verbally speak of its importance. This is unlike some individuals who take advantage of any least opportunity to show their status or relevance in society. The message is that it pays to allow other people to judge one's value and importance in society than to indulge in self-recognition and praise. Those being targeted by the proverb include the salt dealers who may have taken undue advantage of the importance and scarcity of salt to establish superiority over their customers.

3. Akan proverb/metaphor: *Waka nkyene agu.*

English: He/ she has pushed salt onto the ground.

The proverb was given by a sixty-one year old Nchumuru linguist. He explained that among the Akans, this is an indirect way of announcing the death of prominent persons (especially chiefs) in the society. The Akans figuratively describe a chief as one who never dies, and when he dies his death cannot be communicated with the same linguistic style used for ordinary persons. In practical terms any circumstance that results in salt being poured on the ground is highly regrettable because it destroys the value of salt and makes it inaccessible for use. In effect, the high status of salt is terminated when it is poured on the ground. The chief is highly acknowledged and respected like salt. In the same regard, the death of a king is as great a loss as the salt that has been poured on the ground. This linguistic element suggests that, the communities that use the proverb were/are located far away from the sources of salt and that they had access to salt through trade. With

possibilities of irregular supply and high or prohibitive prices, the loss of any quantity of salt is bad news akin to the death of a king.

4. Nchumuru Proverb/Simile: *Kaano bo kɔɔne fe mfrɔ*

English: His / Her mouth is as sweet as salt

This proverb was given by a twenty eight year old Nchumuru man called Kofi Ernest who sells his salt in one of the stores in the salt warehouse. He happens to be the son of a onetime famous salt seller called *Kofi Nkyene* and who also represents the only salt seller in Yeji with Nchumuru background. Kofi Ernest intimated that the proverb implies skillful control of words. The salt is compared to a speaker who is capable of crisp, smooth, succinct and controlled speech and can negotiate words properly and manage tense situations (Yankah 1995:48-49). Such a person is also capable of convincing others to either abandon their intentions or to outwit and deceive them with his or her verbal wit.

5. Ewe proverb: *Dzɛ kotoku deka medea Kratsi o*

English: You don't go to Kratsi with only one bag of salt.

Kete Krachi, which is otherwise written Kratsi in the proverb, is located in the northern part of the Volta Region of Ghana, (about 320 km north of Accra). The long distance coupled with the difficulty in navigating the Volta River to Krachi made it extremely difficult for the salt merchants to transport salt there for sale. This created constant shortfall in salt supply to Krachi. Salt merchants who managed under difficult conditions to ferry their salt to Krachi therefore enjoyed a booming market. Under these circumstances it would be naturally unwise to send only one bag of salt to Krachi for sale when you could sell far more than that. This proverb suggests that in trade or any business venture, one has to take full advantage of the ready market and maximize profit.

The import of the statement is that it is important to transport huge consignments of trade goods to market centers where the trader is sure or aware of rapid sales of the goods within the shortest possible time. The proverb has also corroborated oral and documentary accounts

that portrayed Krachi as one of the most important salt distribution centers in the 18th century (Sutton 1981:52). Salt from Krachi was further transported into the interior settlements for sale. Why take just a small quantity of salt to Krachi when indeed you could sell an enormous amount? The essence of the proverb is that The difficulty that the salt merchants encountered in the course of transporting the salt should not discourage them but rather they should be encouraged by the availability of ready market that Krachi offered and convey massive consignments because everything was likely to be sold out.

Salt Related Songs

Apart from proverbs, songs have variously been used as a form of verbal indirection to conceal meaning from a perceived addressee. Due to high stakes intrinsic in the execution of speech, cultures have assumed various means to overcome or lessen the risk of oral interaction (Yankah, 2000:137). Songs could constitute innuendos, indirect criticism or ridicule to an addressee who cannot initiate face-to-face altercation because the addressee is not directly referred to or mentioned in the lyrics of the song.

The lyrics of a song recorded during the research seemed to ridicule the communities that depended on Yeji for their salt supplies. The song recorded in Nchumuru is as follows:

Ane ɔɔ mfrɔ se akyee

Nyi dɔ abo nnɔɔ

Ane gyi, gyi ma kisi kpali kpakpa ledzi dza,

Megyi atɔ ɔ,

Megyi gyi gyin gyin ma eeh!

The literal translation in English is:

We buy salt for the women

One can display his weeding capabilities only on the farm.

The song was recorded from the chief linguist of Yeji. The implication of the song as explained by the informant is that the Yeji people (the Nchumuru) used music as an indirect device to remind their neighbours of their dominant role as primary salt distributors. The use of gender (women) in the first line suggests that salt was

initially traded by Yeji men who bought the salt on wholesale basis from the Ada sellers and handed it over to their wives for retail. It also suggests that at the domestic or household level it was men who obtained salt for their wives. Alternatively, the use of the word “women” may be metaphorical. It could refer to the neighbouring communities that were dependent on Yeji for their salt supply. In this regard the song emerges as a veiled approach of address. The singers mention “women” when they are actually referring to the communities that came to buy salt in bulk for retail from Yeji. Because the wholesale and retail distribution of salt was associated with Yeji, it became the “man” and the dependent interior communities were portrayed as “women”.

This song is usually sung to herald the *Kujoji* (new yam) rituals as an indirect means of expressing their joy of being at the forefront of salt marketing in the area. It must also be mentioned that the song maintains indirectness, because there is no direct mention of names of the target communities. For this reason, the song does not trigger any response from any quarters. Perhaps, the target communities do not find the song directly aimed at them.

Salt Related Place Names

People name things and places in ways that are significant to them (Russel, 1995:17). The name given to the salt market area of Yeji provides enormous insight into the role and the position of salt in the settlement and the cultural history of Yeji. The name Salt Town literally describes the salt market area in Yeji. The study of the names of settlements (Toponymy) can be valuable in dating settlements especially old settlements where founding dates are unrecorded (Russel, 1995:17). Naming the settlement with English words such as “salt” and “town” may suggest that the settlement got that name at the time the British were wielding authority over the Volta River salt trade. This could be in the twentieth century because when the British officials visited Yeji in 1903 they were overwhelmed by the large quantities of salt that had been piled up in Yeji due to nonpayment of tax (Sutton 1981:56).

Elsewhere in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, a peri-urban community in Kumasi called *Fankyenebra* (bring salt) and another community in the Krachi West District of the Volta Region of Ghana, called *Ohia*

Ma Nkyene (salt is needed) are significant. These villages derived their names from the necessity of salt to the people. The naming of these communities is an indication that the people were naturally inclined to naming the settlements after *salt* because the settlements had substantial food and meat resources but they did not have salt to flavor the food. As places far away from sources of salt, visitors and new settlers were often called upon to come along with salt.

Personal Names Regarding Salt

It is common phenomenon in Ghana for people to be “re-christened” after their professional pursuits. People bear names such as “Teacher Nsiah”, or “Driver John. People who sell items or once sold certain items are named after the item. There was a man popularly called “*Kofi Nkyene*” (Kofi Salt) who is said to have been one of the avid salt dealers in Yeji. His self-discipline and dedication to salt business earned him a salt name. Even after retiring from the salt business he still carried the name. He actually loved to be called as such. Even though the man has since died, the name is still used to refer to his family and property.

Influence of Salt Ecology on Local Language

The salt sellers are not the only entities that have been named after salt. It is significant to note that the original ecology of the Ada salt (Songhor) is being used to refer to salt by the Ada salt sellers in Yeji. The name *Songhor* is without any doubt synonymous with salt. It is one of the salt producing centers in the Ada area of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana (Seanedzu, 1997). Even though *Songhor* is a name of the salt winning lagoon in Ada, salt sellers of Ada origin resident at Yeji have given that name to salt. Because many non-Ada people at Yeji have acquired proficiency in the Ada language, the Ada salt sellers prefer to use the word “Songhor” to indicate salt as a way of concealing the mention of salt in their communication. “Songhor” is used as the name for salt which is central in all interactions in the salt market. This new salt vocabulary also helps the Ada salt sellers to foster a unique group identity that defines their wellbeing.

The word in Akan for salt is “*nkyene*”; it is “*dze*” in Ewe, “*mfrɔ*” in Nchumuru and “*ŋgo*” in Ada. These names are specific to the

respective ethnic groups. The Ada innovative word “Songhor” which refers to salt, is possibly unknown to the other groups. This metaphor emphasizes that the function of language is to relate its speakers to one another and to the world they live in (Farb 1993:17). Because the wider Ada language is spoken in a particular physical environment (salt environment), it is explicable that this language should have large vocabulary for describing salt. The new name for salt “Songhor” has revealed the Ada traders’ detailed local knowledge and description of the physical world and local geography which is a key aspect of understanding their ethno history.

Ritual Incantations Related to Salt

Salt can also be used as a form of spiritual punishment through the agency of the spoken word or salt incantations. In the era of limited security, societal foibles were controlled by the use of salt to penalize deviants in society; verbal incantations related to salt used to punish faceless perpetrators of various crimes in the Yeji community.

The destructive potential of salt has been acknowledged in Yeji. The belief underlying the use of salt for destructive purpose stems from the fact that salt embodies a powerful spirit that is evoked only when someone has grievously been offended. Offences such as stealing, bearing of false witness, rape, and murder may call for salt rituals that would unleash the appropriate spells on the perpetrators. Since salt is unavoidable in the diets of many people, the curse is normally scheduled to take effect when the offender takes the first salt after committing the offence. The words used in pronouncing the curse sometimes commence with the statement that “If you eat salt again...”

People who take delight in defecating on private compounds or unauthorized places are believed to receive their spiritual sanctions when salt is poured on the faeces. This accompanies verbal invocations meant to afflict the perpetrator with anal infections. Salt can also be put into fire as a way of punishing somebody who has committed an offence. As the salt sparkles in the fire, the offender is believed to be tormented by a burning sensation similar to the one produced in the fire by the salt. The accompanying verbal incantation is always an important adjunct to the manual aspect of the ritual in order to

unleash the appropriate spell on the person behind the offence or the crime.

Salt Needle

The main instrument used for stitching and sealing the mouths of the sacks of salt is a needle which is usually about 10cm long. This is locally made by blacksmiths in Yeji and it is the same type of needle used in the cocoa growing areas of southern Ghana for sealing cocoa bags. In the cocoa growing areas this needle is popularly called *Cocoa Panie* (cocoa needle). In Yeji however, it is referred to as *nkyene panie* (salt needle) to reflect its relationship with salt rather than the cocoa beans.

Conclusion

It is revealing that salt forms an important component of the linguistic repertoire of the people of Yeji. This is because the word “salt”, features prominently in their everyday speech. The eighteenth century history of Yeji can never be narrated without reference to the salt trade. This trade was carried out on a scale that made the commodity relevant for business development. The Yeji salt trade has also led to the evolution of linguistic implications on personal and place names as well as in verbal indirections such as songs and proverbs. Verbal indirections such as proverbs constitute important modes of folk wisdom. Their deployment in speech situations restrains the flow of open critique and curtails possible confrontations from perceived addressees. Their usage therefore ensures societal harmony. The salt related proverbs discussed are also timeless linguistic resources which are important sources of insight into the cultural norms and beliefs of the people of Yeji.

The rhetorical use of these linguistic forms signifies the upholding of cultural norms of speaking. The people of Yeji have exploited this veiled discourse to enhance their societal values, limit social flaws and to celebrate group identity. Investigating salt mining and trade in the archaeological context is a considerable thought-provoking undertaking because it is a field that can easily be dismissed as madcap since salt is not visible in the archaeological record (Connah, 1998 and Alexander, 1995). One major limitation of salt is its perishable nature. Even where metal vessels were used in the trade, these are liable to rapid corrosion

and disintegration. This confounds the basic definition of archaeology which is the study of the past through material remains. In the case of salt production, so far as it is known, it leaves no material remains behind. Archaeologists have resorted to looking for physical and intangible elements associated with its production, storage and distribution along with documentary sources about salt-making techniques and trade. It's the archaeology bit that presents the dilemma. But it must be accentuated that archaeology isn't always the best way of doing it. Sometimes a better approach is through anthropology and ethnography, that is why in my attempt to 'look for salt' in the archaeological record, I considered the ethno linguistic data extremely important.

However Ethno-linguistics remains an area which has not been infrequently exploited by archaeologists. This is mainly because often times linguists are not always precise in defining technical terms and are prone to ignore history and the material culture, often through ignorance of archaeo-scientific data. On the other hand it has been revealed that Archaeologists are also sometimes reluctant to engage with linguistic data perhaps due to its obvious intricacies, (Blench 2007: 433). Nevertheless with a topic as important as *Archaeology and Salt*, the opportunities for extensive interdisciplinary approach between Linguistics and Archaeology should be harnessed since linguistic data plays a crucial complementary role to the archaeological data.

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Chapter 8

Historical Archaeology: Methods, Meanings, and Ambiguities

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Origins and Definitions

Historical archaeology—as a field that utilizes documentary sources in addition to the archaeological record—has long been practiced in many world areas, though it has not necessarily been defined as such. Classical Greco-Roman archaeology, Islamic archaeology, Biblical archaeology, Egyptology, Medieval archaeology, Postmedieval archaeology, and Chinese archaeology may all be complemented by the use of documentary source material and so share the same interdisciplinary vantage and methodological challenges as researchers working on European sites and the archaeological record of the last five hundred years (see Andrén 1998). Yet, while sharing methodological concerns, each of these subdisciplines has its own definitional parameters that reflect specific time periods, area foci, and conceptual framing. Hence, while technically ‘historical’ archaeology, they represent their own defined sub-disciplines. Practitioners of classical archaeology and Egyptology, for example, identify themselves as such, and have their own disciplinary histories, journals, and professional meetings.

This review focuses on research that has been specifically identified by its practitioners as ‘historical archaeology’. Historical archaeology emerged as a discrete discipline in the mid-twentieth century, most visibly in the United States. A wide range of perspectives of the new discipline’s parameters were advocated at the birth of the Society for Historical Archaeology, founded in 1967 (see Schuyler 1978 and the special issue of the journal *Historical Archaeology* 27, 1 1993). At the time of its foundation there were perhaps 20 practicing, self identified historical archaeologists in the United States (Cleland 1993:13). In practice, the early years of the discipline were heavily defined by a focus on European colonial sites. Some of the more notable research was undertaken in the context of preservation and restoration work, archaeological data used as an aid in architectural reconstruction (e.g.

Harrington 1955; Noël Hume 1983:10-11; Orser 2004:30-39). This applied focus remains an important component of some historical archaeological research both in the United States and elsewhere. Archaeology's contribution, therefore, was seen by some as modest: "It isn't earthshaking or such as to transform the whole mode of historical and architectural research. In fact, we may even admit it is a contribution of modest but definitely useful substance" (Cotter 1978:18). However, other early practitioners such as Robert Schuyler (1978:30) underscored historical archaeology's unique vantage as a subdiscipline of anthropology; the field's potential in understanding European expansion and the processes of culture change associated with that expansion.

As will be seen, many of these foci and ambiguities of definition remain with us today. Reviewing historical archaeology, Charles Orser (1996:23-28) placed definitions of the field into three categories: as a study of a time period; as a research method; and as the study of the modern world. Each of these perspectives is valid, each has its own limitations, and aspects of each have been applied to archaeological research in Africa.

Historical Archaeology as a Time Period

The archaeological study of the Historic Period has a long ancestry. Archaeology emerged as a defined discipline during the nineteenth century. Crucial to its emergence as a discipline was the recognition and division of a prehistoric past (e.g. Andrén 1998:1-2). Prior to the nineteenth century, human history was primarily understood through the written record; particularly classical Greek and Roman writings, as well as the *Bible*. Gradually the idea of a prehistoric past accessible through the material record was accepted. If prehistoric archaeology studied this unknown past predating the advent of written records, historical archaeology was the *de facto* archaeology of the period known from documentary sources. In this view, the varied sub-disciplines noted above—Classical Greco-Roman archaeology through Egyptology—are all 'historical' archaeologies. Grappling with this question, Schuyler (1977) suggested that historical archaeology has at least five subdisciplines. While these overlap temporally, each

is defined by a specific time period. 'Classical Archaeology', Schuyler suggested, begins with Minoan Civilization circa 3000 BC and ends with the late Roman Empire circa A.D. 527. 'Medieval archaeology', focusing on the period between A.D. 400-1400, is in turn followed by 'postmedieval archaeology' dealing with the period A.D. 1450 to 1750. 'Historic sites archaeology' concentrates on the period from A.D. 1415 to industrialization, with 'industrial archaeology' beginning with the industrial revolution, circa 1750. The ages of these different periods might vary depending on the presence or absence of documentary sources in specific local contexts. The key point, however, was their differentiation from prehistoric studies.

Schuyler's definitions were pragmatic in attempting to situate the emerging field of historical archaeology within the broader context and temporal frameworks of existing subdisciplines. They were limited in not including archaeologies and historical sources beyond the European world, European industrialization, and European expansion. These categories might, however, have been added to and expanded as needed to incorporate other regional historical archaeologies. However, in practice the margins of historical archaeology had already been drawn much narrower in North America, its practitioners focusing on the archaeological record of the past five hundred years and on European sites (see comment by Schuyler 1978:2).

Historical Archaeology as a Method

As a field that deals with literate cultures, historical archaeology (of whatever ilk) is inherently interdisciplinary: It draws on varied information to fully interpret the past. Historical archaeologists must know the methods of archaeological research, and must also have the historical knowledge and ability to identify the distinctive trade materials recovered (e.g. Cotter 1978:18). Noël Hume (1983:12-13), in particular, was very critical of anthropologically trained prehistoric archaeologists who turned to the archaeology of colonial period sites with little understanding of the trade materials recovered or appreciation of the often nuanced stratigraphy present in sites of the more recent past.

In this perspective, demarcating historical archaeology as a specialized method, or series of techniques, makes a great deal of sense. For the prehistorian, material recovered archaeologically is the primary source of information. Written records often afford information pointedly beyond the reach of the prehistorian. For the historical archaeologist, the past is revealed in an array of tax records, church rolls, court documents, land deeds, and trade manifests, as well as contemporary histories and diaries (e.g. Deetz 1977:7; Beaudry 1988; Orser 2004). The historical archaeologist may know the names of the individuals he/she is studying, their occupations, and may have autobiographical accounts of their lives. The documentary record also allows for much more precise chronological control than is available to the prehistorian. Drawing on recorded patent dates, documentary information on manufacture, and known dates for site occupation historical archaeologists may know the age of their material record within decades, a few years, or even to the day of discard (as in recorded cases of destruction, sinkings, and burials, and dated artifacts). This chronological control allows historical archaeologists to grapple with site chronologies, change through time, and nuances in research questions that are impossible in contexts without written or oral source material.

In North American historical archaeology, the 'historical' component has principally referred to information provided by documentary sources. And research has, therefore, focused on European sites for which these documentary records exist, such as European settlements, outposts, and mission sites directly associated with the European presence. However, the importance of oral data is being increasingly recognized by some researchers, especially with regard to the recovery of information relating to Native American populations with whom the Europeans interacted. For example, in his reconstruction of the California frontier Kent Lightfoot (2005:16-17) underscores the potential use of oral traditions to provide a much needed indigenous perspective of colonial history. Notably, however, archaeological studies of Native American populations not directly in contact with Europeans have often been subsumed under ethnohistory, historical anthropology, colonialism, or even prehistory, rather than 'historical'

archaeology (e.g. Ferris 2009; Lightfoot 2005; Rogers and Wilson 1993).

Historical Archaeology as a Research Question

In contrast to the preceding perspectives, some North American archaeologists have increasingly defined historical archaeology as neither a period or as a methodology, but rather in terms of the research questions asked. This perspective was articulated by James Deetz in his 1977 book *In Small Things Forgotten*. Deetz observed that historical archaeologists study “the cultural remains of literate societies that were capable of recording their own history”, and further noted that “in America, historical archaeologists are concerned with the development of [Euroamerican] culture since the seventeenth century, the way it compares and contrasts with its Old World antecedents, and its impact on the Native American cultural tradition” (Deetz 1977:5). However, Deetz went on to say that: “A popular definition of historical archaeology is *the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples* [emphasis in original text]” (Deetz 1977:5; also see Schuyler 1970:84).

A similar perspective of historical archaeology has more recently been articulated by Charles Orser. Orser (1996:2-6) was particularly concerned with the descriptive, atheoretical nature of much of the historical archaeological research undertaken. While he did not feel that the preceding definitions of historical archaeology were wrong, he also felt that to define the field in terms of written records or to relegate it to methodology is a disservice to the discipline (Orser 1996:25). For Orser (1996:26), the means to address this crisis in historical archaeological theory was to provide a clear research focus on the global nature of modern life. More than the archaeology of literate cultures, it should specifically seek to understand colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity (Orser 1996:27-28). In Orser’s view these four themes define the field of historical archaeology: “They exist at every site, on every laboratory table, within every map and chart made” (Orser 1996:57). His examination of these questions was linked to an interdisciplinary, mutualist perspective of social networks.

Orser's (1996:27, 2002:xiii) definition of historical archaeology as the archaeology of the literate cultures of modern times has been accepted by many American historical archaeologists and it is the definition given on the website of the Society for Historical Archaeology, which states:

"Historical archaeology is the archaeology of the modern world. Most historical archaeologists focus on the period after the 15th century. Historical archaeology is global in scope and deals with all groups of people, not simply those of European descent. Even though many earlier societies had writing: Sumerians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Olmec, and Mayans, specialists in other fields study the archaeological remains of these societies" (Veit 2013).

It is difficult to disagree with the desire to frame archaeological research around important, well articulated research questions. Understanding the impacts and consequences of expanding European capitalism, colonialism, Eurocentrism, and the origins of modernity are clearly important. Indeed, with regard to Africa, as well as much of the world, the intersection of Europe with the non-Western world marked a period of dramatic change. However, this perspective is problematic when considered in wider context than sites associated with European expansion and its impacts. Archaeologists in many parts of the world study the archaeological record of the last 500 years, at times with little or no documentary sources to draw on and with little if any concern for European contact or colonization. If historical archaeology is defined solely by the presence of written sources and the study of colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism and modernity, are all studies that *do not* include these things the foci of prehistory? In this respect, defining historical archaeology as a method is less exciting, but perhaps more pragmatic. Looking at the definition and study of historical archaeology in sub-Saharan Africa affords insight for all practitioners of the archaeological record of the more recent past.

Documents, Oral Histories, and the Material Record in sub-Saharan Africa

In sub-Saharan Africa, the term historical archaeology has had very limited use, especially considering the amount of research that has been undertaken on the archaeological record of the past 500 years. It has primarily been used to denote a methodology; referring to contexts where documentary records and oral traditions can be used, as well as the archaeological record (e.g. Behrens and Swanepoel 2008; DeCorse 1996, 1997; DeCorse in Ellison et al 1996; Hall 1997; Horton 1997; Reid and Lane 2004; Schmidt 1978, 1983, 2006). Notably, in contrast to North America, the historical context has often been provided by oral source material, as opposed to written records. Other American definitions of historical archaeology, along with their definitional ambiguities, have also been applied to work in Africa, as well as to research undertaken in other world areas.

One of the challenges researchers face in reconstructing the sub-Saharan African past is the dramatic paucity of documentary source material prior to the late nineteenth or twentieth centuries. The vast majority of the pre-twentieth century written sources that do exist are provided by outsiders. There are examples of indigenous sub-Saharan African writing systems such as the Vai Script in Liberia, Bamum hieroglyphics in Cameroon, and the *Nsibidi* script of Nigeria (Andah, Bodam, and Chubuegbu 1991). To these might be added mnemonic devices or memory clues, such as the *lukasa* or memory boards of the Congo, the brass panels that once adorned the Oba's palace in Benin City, the *adinkra* symbols of the Akan and, at least in some instances, rock art. These systems are, however, very limited in terms of the areas covered, the time depths represented, and the information provided.

Written sources for portions of sub-Saharan Africa begin in the first millennium AD with scattered accounts of the West African Sahel and the east African coast being provided by Arab travelers. These accounts afford the first non-archaeological glimpses of some African cultures and polities. Yet, while tantalizing, these sources are most striking in the limited information they provide. By way of illustration it can be

noted that the majority of pre-fifteenth century Arabic sources for West Africa can be conveniently surveyed in a single volume (Levtzion and Hopkins 1981). Early archaeological work on many of the sites referred to in these sources was simply aimed at verifying the sites' existence (see de Barros 1990:167; Insoll 2003:213-232).

European documentary records begin with the arrival of the Portuguese on the West African coast in the fifteenth century. In some cases, as with the site of Elmina in coastal Ghana, the amount of documentary sources is striking, beginning in the initial decades of contact and increasing in the following centuries (see DeCorse 2001a:2-4, 2008a). Yet even in these instances the documentary accounts are disappointing in terms of the information provided. Europeans were first and foremost concerned with their own affairs. While written records provide trade lists and accounts of the management of the European coastal outposts, they often say frustratingly little about the African peoples with whom the Europeans interacted. For much of the continent, African-European interactions—and European accounts of them—remained almost exclusively confined to the small European coastal enclaves. Until the late nineteenth century, European exploration of much of the West African interior can be conveniently illustrated by a few colored lines on a map.

In light of the limited nature of the documentary record, researchers into the African past have long turned to varied sources of information, integrating oral sources and archaeological data with the written record (Vansina et al 1964; also see Anquandah 1982:14-20, 1985; Agbaje-Williams 1986; DeCorse and Chouin 2003; DeCorse 1996; Feierman 1993; Mauny 1961; Philips 2005; Posnansky 2013; Schmidt 1978, 1983, 1990, 2006). Oral sources are particularly important in providing information, any information, on the pre-twentieth century African past (Andah and Opoku 1979; Miller 1980; Henige 1982; Vansina 1985). These sources are by no means uniform with regard to the type of information provided and, like written records, oral sources are not without their interpretive challenges. Yet, as Schmidt (2009:2) observes, they are crucial, not just in providing information but “in the recovery and use of subaltern histories that challenge and help

to deconstruct colonial narratives about the past, as well as provide truly multivocal views of the past.” Oral source material is a crucial aspect of African studies. Yet, in many instances, archaeology alone provides information for the reconstruction of the relatively recent African past. Implicit in much of this work is the view that history and archaeology are interwoven disciplinary sources, each looking at the reconstruction of the African past, encompassing varied portions of the first and second millennia AD.

Considering the limited information often provided by either documentary sources or oral traditions, the terms ‘Protohistoire’ or ‘Protohistoric’ have sometimes been used to describe the majority of West Africa during the second millennium AD (e.g. Atherton 1972; DeCorse 1980; Mauny 1967; Stahl 1989). Here it is also worth noting that the term ‘pre-Colonial’ is generally used in West Africa to specifically refer to the period prior to the formal partition of Africa into colonial territories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This has sometimes caused confusion with researchers in other world areas, particularly North America, where the entirety of the post-European contact period is sometimes referred to as ‘colonial’ (e.g. Lightfoot 2005).

Historical Archaeology in Sub-Saharan Africa

While archaeological research in Africa has long integrated both written and oral sources, the term historical archaeology has had limited use, which is exclusively confined to Anglophone countries and Anglophone researchers. The term was first used in sub-Saharan Africa by James Kirkman in 1957 with regard to the study of sites on the East African coast known through oral narratives written down by Arab chroniclers. Ongoing research on these sites has, however, illustrated the need for an interdisciplinary approach in revealing the history of indigenous populations only ephemerally seen through documentary records written by outsiders. Early cultural reconstructions that drew on Arabic sources viewed Swahili culture primarily as an import, with little input from indigenous peoples. More recent work has revealed the long history of African populations on the coast

and the multicultural nature of Swahili culture (e.g. Allen 1993; Insoll 2003:148-205).

In their 1986 review of “Historical Archaeology in sub-Saharan Africa”, Merrick Posnansky and Christopher DeCorse, also defined the field in terms of presence of written records, particularly European records, and this provided the frame for the material reviewed (also see Posnansky 1984). This perspective is inconsistent with more inclusive definitions that incorporate material primarily known from oral sources, and so this review provides somewhat restricted coverage. For example, while work on the European forts and castles of West Africa was discussed (Posnansky and DeCorse 1986:5-6), research on African settlements and fortified towns directly associated with slave raiding during the Atlantic period and partially known through oral traditions were not considered (e.g. DeCorse 1989, 2012). The scope of the 1986 article notwithstanding, both of the authors realized the desirability of broadening the definition to include sites known through oral sources, something that would incorporate the archaeology of the majority of sites of the last five hundred years (e.g. DeCorse 1996; Posnansky 2001). In fact, Posnansky had used the term historical archaeology in this broader sense beginning in 1959 with reference to his work on the inter-lucustrine kingdoms in Uganda (Posnansky 2013; also see Schmidt 1990).

The importance of oral sources as a defining aspect of historical archaeology has been made most forcefully by Peter Schmidt (1978, 1983, 2006) and is well illustrated by his research in East Africa. His work in northwestern Tanzania utilized oral traditions and ethnographic data to interpret patterns observed archaeologically. While the use of these data afford the greatest insights into the history of the past few centuries, in some instances oral traditions have been associated with archaeological features dating to the first millennium B.C. (Schmidt 1983:68). Similar instances of oral traditions linked to shrines and ritual landscapes millennia old have been noted in other parts of Africa (e.g. Chouin 2002; Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and MacLean 2009). It is this more encompassing definition of historical archaeology that was used in the courses taught by DeCorse in the Department of Archaeology (now the Department of Archaeology and

Heritage Studies) at the University of Ghana, Legon in 1985 and 1986. These were the first courses taught in sub-Saharan Africa specifically labeled 'historical archaeology'.

This holistic concept of historical archaeology—incorporating both written and oral sources—remains the predominate definition of historical archaeology in most of sub-Saharan Africa. Yet here it should again be noted that the majority of the archaeological research that might fall under this rubric has often not been identified by the researchers involved as historical archaeology. The vast majority of work on the archaeological record of the past 500 years has generally been subsumed under ethnoarchaeology, Islamic archaeology, late Iron Age Archaeology, pre-Colonial Archaeology, or simply 'archaeology'. To a large extent this trend continues in most of sub-Saharan African research. Not surprisingly, this has led some researchers to question whether the term historical archaeology is necessary or appropriate in Africa (Connah 2007).

Some researchers have, however, argued for narrower, North American definitions, which define historical archaeology in terms of the research questions asked. Peter Robertshaw draws on this perspective in his review of historical archaeology in Africa. He fittingly observes that "Historical archaeology is, by and large, an American creation that has been exported to Africa" (Robertshaw 2004:376). He further makes the important point that African historical archaeology is more than simply a geographical extension of American historical archaeology; it has evolved independently and affords its own insights for non-Africanists. Noting that historical archaeology, where it has been identified as such, has been imported to Africa in two main areas—West and South Africa—he states: "in West Africa historical archaeology's initial *raison d'être* was the African Diaspora; in South Africa it was the study of colonialism" (Robertshaw 2004:379).

Robertshaw's last statement is correct in some respects, yet misleading in others and requires more examination. The archaeology of the Atlantic period, including European colonial sites, is more developed in southern African than any other portion of the continent. This has produced a distinctive school of research that has afforded unique insight into colonialism and the social history of

colonial populations (e.g. Schrire 1988; Hall 1993). However, it is also true that some of the most engaging research on African-European interactions in southern Africa has not been labeled historical archaeology. As Behrens and Swanepoel (2008:25) observe, “If colonial contact, however broadly defined, delimits historical archaeology then much of Africa’s past is left outside of history (prehistory), or rendered non-historical.” Cases in point are studies of contact period San and Khoi Khoi populations, often poorly viewed in either European documents or African oral traditions. Research on these sites and their interpretation regarding African-European interactions has been the source of vibrant debates regarding the varied coigns of vantage provided by archaeology, ethnography, and the written record (e.g. Schrire 1996). These are significant questions, regardless of whether labeled historical archaeology or not.

More problematic is Robertshaw’s suggestion that the initial *raison d’être* for historical archaeology in West Africa was the African Diaspora. While the study of the African Diaspora has emerged as an important focus of research (see Ogundiran and Falola 2007; DeCorse 2014), its role as the “initial *raison d’être*” for West African historical archaeology, as well as its current role, is limited. Work on the European outposts and forts in coastal Ghana and elsewhere in the decades following World War II can be viewed as the beginnings of historical archaeological research in West Africa (e.g. Posnansky and DeCorse 1986). Many of these outposts played important roles in the Atlantic slave trade. Yet the majority of the research undertaken was not about the African Diaspora, at least not explicitly so. Rather, it was much more about the Europeans and their forts. To an even greater extent, it was about restoration and preservation work undertaken on the structures. Indeed archaeological fieldwork often played a limited or non-existent role in much of this research, in some cases archaeological materials were left unreported or simply cleared away to facilitate mapping and reconstruction. To some extent, work on European sites in Africa can be criticized as particularistic and atheoretical, akin to the criticisms leveled at early work on colonial sites in North America (Holl 2009:140). This research also was not labeled historical archaeology by its practitioners.

The majority of the initial, more substantive archaeological research associated with the European outposts did not directly deal with the European contexts or the African Diaspora, but rather focused on the impacts and transformations in the associated African communities (e.g. DeCorse 2001a; Kelly 1997, 2001). In a similar vein, the contributors to the 2001 edited volume *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives* sought to understand the impacts of that trade on West African populations (DeCorse 2001b). Yet, one of the observations made in the volume's introduction was that one of the challenges in assessing Atlantic impacts is the fact that the vast majority of work undertaken on the West African archaeological record of the Atlantic period has often not been undertaken with European contact or the Atlantic trade in mind—nor referred to as historical archaeology (DeCorse 2001b:1-3).

With regard to work specifically on the African Diaspora, Bunce Island in Sierra Leone may have been the first European fort in West Africa to be proposed as a monument to the slave trade. In 1922, J. B. Chinsman suggested that the City Council of Freetown purchase the island from the British Colonial government “so that its caves and tombstones could be preserved as historical monuments of the slave trade” (quoted in Wyse 1990:24; also see DeCorse 2007). Nothing, however, came of this proposal and efforts to preserve the site are still underway. Doig Simmonds (1973) limited excavations in the dungeons of Cape Coast Castle, Ghana was unique in focusing specifically on the slaves' living conditions. The West African Historical Museum that Simmonds established in Cape Coast Castle dealt with the slave trade, but much more widely with the African past (Simmonds 1972). Similarly, through the early 1980s the displays in the *Musée Historique* in Fort d'Estrées, Goree Island Senegal, primarily dealt with Stone Age archaeology and there was little attention paid to the 'House of Slaves' (DeCorse 2008b).

Since the 1990s, Goree Island, James Fort in the Gambia, Ouidah in Benin, and the forts and castles of coastal Ghana have increasingly been seen as places of memory for Africans in the Diaspora (e.g. Anquandah 2008; Osei-Tutu 2009; Schramm 2010). The growing interest in heritage tourism has been concurrent with increasing archaeological

research specifically seeking the intersection of the archaeologies of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora. Consequently, the past decade has witnessed increased archaeological work specifically on European outposts, as well as the contexts from which enslaved Africans were taken (e.g. Agorsah 1993; Apoh 2008, 2013; Boachie-Ansah 2009; Bredwa-Mensah 1996, 2002, 2004; Gavua 2008; Kankpeyeng 2009; Kelly 2004; Monroe 2007; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Stahl 1999).

If not necessarily labeled historical archaeology, research on the European forts and castles would clearly qualify as historical archaeology under any of the proffered definitions. Yet what about archaeological work undertaken on other sites of this time period for which no written sources exist? As Posnansky observed in his 1982 article titled “African Archaeology Comes of Age”, much of the archaeological research undertaken during the 1960s, 70s and 80s increasingly concentrated on the archaeology of the component populations of the newly independent African states, rather than the more temporally distant Stone Age. This trend toward a focus on the more recent past has continued to the extent that Augustin Holl (2009:140) has observed that, in West Africa, study of the Early and Middle Stone Age is becoming extinct. Drawing on oral traditions and ethnography, as well as archaeological and documentary source material, this research often provides quite rich reconstruction of African populations of the past 1000 years. It thus provides local history and important insight into African populations of Africa in the Atlantic World. Yet this research often includes little or no discussion of written sources, the Atlantic World, the slave trade, capitalism, European colonization, or Eurocentrism. Situating African history in its deeper past—unbounded by the advent of the Atlantic world—has been a widely used vantage in West African studies of the later Iron Age (e.g. Chouin and DeCorse 2010; Connah 1975; N'Dah 2009; Ogundiran 2000, 2005; Stahl 2001). This perspective has been characteristic of the Syracuse School (e.g. Chouin 2009; Gijanto 2010; Kankpeyeng 2003; Smith 2008; Spiers 2007; Richard 2007).

Conclusions and Criticisms: Is Historical Archaeology Needed?

It is difficult to disagree with the quest to ask important questions. The expansion of Europe into the non-Western World and the cultural exchanges and impacts it engendered is unquestionably one of the most dramatic events of the past 500 years. Africa's role in shaping the Atlantic World and the associated transformations on both sides of the Atlantic are among the most tantalizing research questions to be addressed. The question of the impact—specifically with regard to the Atlantic slave trade and its abolition—has been widely debated by African and Africanist historians, some arguing for dramatic consequences, others for more limited or even beneficial impacts (e.g. Eltis 1987; Fage 1969; Lovejoy 1989; Rodney 1972). Archaeology forcefully addresses these issues: It has revealed the advent of the Atlantic World—including the slave trade, European hegemony, and the eventual imposition of colonial rule—to have been a period of dramatic change (e.g. DeCorse 1991, 2001b; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Monroe and Ogundiran 2012). Increasing archaeological research on this topic has focused on the wider impact of the Atlantic world revealing a diversity of local responses.

Archaeological research can and must play a key role in examining these questions. Orser's defining aspects of historical archaeology: colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity should all be important foci of archaeological research. Yet do we need the term 'historical archaeology'? The ambiguities and varied perspectives noted above hinder the term's explanatory value and limit its utility. Of greater concern, however, is what the term implies about the research represented. Labeling this or that research 'historical' implies that other studies are something else, are ahistorical. These categories inherently shape the lenses through which we view the past and how we conceive modernity. As Schmidt and Walz (2007) point out, exclusionary silences are themselves illuminating.

Examining the conceptual framing of historical archaeology is more than academic musings: its definitional parameters have important implications about the research foci, the work undertaken, and our views of the past. Africa's past extends long before the arrival of the

Europeans on the coast. Pre-Atlantic history provides an array of research foci, as well as contexts for understanding the transformations that have occurred in the past 500 years. In failing to consider Africa's long pre-Atlantic past we run the risk of beginning our historical narratives with the arrival of the Europeans, the documentary record, and the particular views of the past that these engender. Recognizing the need to place developments of Atlantic Africa in these wider contexts there is a growing recognition of the need to avoid terminology that arbitrarily divides the African past. Akin Ogundiran (2005), for example, discards the outmoded use of traditional dichotomies of historic/prehistoric and colonial/pre-colonial to reveal the complexities of the past. Many researchers have articulated theoretically nuanced research agenda without the conceptual margins of the label 'historical archaeology'. As Agbaje Williams (1986) observed with regard to the prehistoric/historical dichotomy, there is only one analytic frame. Archaeological research should indeed be about the questions asked, not generic heuristic labels.

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Chapter 9

Embroideries of Imperialism: An Archaeo-Historical Overview of Akwamu, Asante, German and British Imperial Hegemonies at Kpando, Ghana.

Wazi Apoh

Introduction

This paper explores the interconnections between imperial power, wealth and inequality to assess the effects of the penetration of imperial ideologies and capitalist agendas on West African and more specifically, Kpando economies. The goal of this exposition is to understand how the colonized and colonizers negotiated these interchanges in the period of direct and indirect contact and imperialism, formal colonization and decolonization in the West African context (Roseberry 1988; Wallerstein 1974). The archaeo-historical assessment of the exigencies of daily life in the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial contexts enables anthropological emphasis to be placed on culturally specific responses. This approach, which is embedded in the tenets of historical archaeology, (see De Corse, this volume), enables the generation of complementary data to inform on commonalities and diversities of intercultural interaction in hegemonic situations in the past.

The interpretive focus of this study requires the assessment of a number of theoretical concepts of entanglement--contact, imperialism and colonialism--and their effects on societies and individuals. Their use in foregrounding this research on Kpando and its people (the Akpini), is aimed at understanding the linkages between developments on the micro imperial context of the Akwamu and Asante hegemony as well as the macro or geopolitical colonizing context of the Germans and the British in Kpando. Prior to the attainment of the independence of Ghana in 1957, societies along its coastal stretch (e.g., the Ewe,

Ga, Fante, Ahanta and Nzima) and immediate hinterland societies (e.g., the Denkyira, Akwapim, Asante, Akwamu, and Akyem) had been interacting with each other over centuries. Such contacts and interactions often took the form of exchange of commodities, ideas and cultural practices.

The nature of these contacts and encounters ranged from relatively peaceful cohabitations to outright aggression and hegemonic controls. This is a fact, especially, when we assess the periods of the slave trade and imperial exploits in the West African region from the 15th through the 20th centuries (Silliman 2005:55-58). Additionally, before direct German contact and colonialism, some Kpando traders were indirectly trading with the Danes on the Gold Coast near Accra through middlemen in the 18th and 19th centuries. Likewise, Kpando Ewe people had amicably coexisted with other Ewe and non-Ewe neighbors before their area was subjected to slave raids and imperial exploitation of human resources by the Akan-speaking Asante and Akwamu warriors and slave raiders.

The Kpando People

Kpando is a historically important town located on the eastern banks of the Volta Lake in the central highlands of the Volta Region of Ghana. The town is encompassed within latitudes 6° 20' N and 7° 05' N and longitude 0° 17' E. The Akpini traditional area is currently made up of seventeen towns and villages. As documented elsewhere (Apoah 2008, 2013a, 2013b), two traditions--the Abanu tradition and the Notsie tradition reveal two varied origins, migration and settlement histories of the people of Kpando. The Abanu oral tradition, claims that "Abanu," (once called *Kwankro* or *Kwandu*), was the earliest community founded on Kpando land by two immigrant Akan-speaking groups from Adjaade in Brong Ahafo led by a warrior/hunter called Kwan. The account claims that, a man called Asamany later led a second wave of Akan-speaking group from Agona Swedru in the Central Region of Ghana to this place. The two groups co-existed until the coming of the Akpini Ewe people from Notsie. The Notsie narrative claims that the Kpando people came by the name 'Akpini' after three Ewe migrating groups from Notsie led by Togbe Asianu, Togbe Adeje,

and Togbe Eko formed a pact at the banks of the Haho River, now in Togo. This was done in order to overcome their adversaries and to advance to a suitable location to pitch their Akpini state (*Akpini duko*). The Notsie narrative confirmed that the Akpini people met the Abanu people at Kwankro and were warmly received. Over time, the Abanu-Akan speakers were integrated into the Akpini ways of life.

Economic life in the area in the midst of local imperialism and before formal colonial imperialism was varied. Their mainstay included potting, subsistence raising of livestock, fishing and hunting. The Kpando people also engaged in the farming of vegetables, rice, millet and root crops (yam) bolstered by crops (cassava and maize) domesticated in the western hemisphere. These helped in feeding the population to replenish the loss of labor through the slave trade and local wars. The economy also thrived on the exchange of services and goods and basic necessities were traded using cowries and gold dust as well as the barter system. Items such as rubber, palm oil, ivory carvings, iron ore, were traded at big cities like Keta, Lome, Accra, and Kumasi. The traders brought back gold from the Gold Coast to make jewelry. The Kpando traders also brought back manufactured goods--gunpowder, alcohol and textiles--and other European goods to sell at local Kpando markets (Dzide and Benuyena 2000). The strategic location of Kpando enabled it to become a market center that linked commercial centers such as Kete-Kratchi, Salaga and Yendi, which were entrepôts of the northern trade system.

Akwamu and Asante Imperial Exploitation of the Kpando Landscape

Global political economic entanglements on the Kpando landscape did not first occur after formal contact with the British in 1887 or with the Germans in 1889. This trend had been operating on the African landscape through the merchant trade, i.e., the trans-Saharan trade by the turn of the second millennium CE (Wallerstein 1974). The advent and intensification of the Atlantic trade from the 15th century (Benson and McCaskie 2004: 107) added more rhythm (positive and negative) to the dynamic political economic 'singsongs' and lifeways (e.g.,

foodways, domestic technology and relations) already established on the African continent and in the Kpando area.

The Akpini narratives recount the experiences of the Akpini people in their encounter with slave raids. The elders noted that raids by the Yoruba and the Fon of Dahomey for slaves in the Notsie area may have compelled the inhabitants to build the Notsie fortification. After escaping the tyrannical rule of King Agorkorlie and settling in the Kpando area, the Akpini people had to be on constant alert against slave raiding incursions into the area. Systematic raids on the Kpando area for slaves by the Asante, Akwamu and their Keta Anlo Ewe allies began in the late 18th century. The Akpinis were initially subdued and had to pay tribute to the Asante King in slaves in the early 1800s. F.K. Buah (1980: 20) notes that under the reigns of Nana Ado (1702-1725), Nana Darko (1781) and Nana Akoto (1792), the Akwamu annexed an area of Eweland in the Volta Basin, which was commonly referred to as Krepi of which Kpando, Ho and Peki and other Ewe/migrant Akan communities were a part. They imposed their imperial rule by subjecting vulnerable inhabitants into slavery and all forms of brutalities. The Akwamu later allied with the Asante and the Anlos and invaded the Krepi land again under the Asante General, Nantwi in the 1850s from his base in Akwamu (Ward 1948: 222). Following this, Adu Bofo was made commander of the Asante forces that invaded the Peki and Kpando territories in 1868/69.

Determined resistance led the Akpini and other Ewe and Akan communities in the Volta Basin to align with the Peki people under the short-lived Krepi Confederacy. The Asante, Akwamu and their Anlo allies were eventually defeated in the 1868-74 battles at Goviefe, Sokode and Adaklu in the Volta basin with the help of the British. When the Asante warriors pulled out, they ransacked villages, farms and plantations along the way and took many captives including some of the Basel missionaries in the Anum and Ho out-stations (Ustorf 2002:124).

Overall, the periodic raids and battles by the Akwamu and Asante disrupted trade, farming and other political economic activities in the Volta basin and on the Kpando landscape (Nugent 2005: 31). The destruction of Akwamu and Asante power by the Krepe Confederacy

and allied British forces halted the threat of war and ushered in renewed freedom of trade. The Krepe Confederacy was short-lived after the threat of war dissipated. Though the Asante and Akwamu imperial aggression fell short of the establishment of colonial control over the Akpini people, a number of Akpini and neighboring Ewes, like the Wusuta people, were taken to Kumasi in 1871 by the Asante, thereby creating an Ewe diaspora in the Asante Kingdom today (e.g., Abesim and Nsuta-Mampong; Gavua 2008). Through the hegemonic encounters from the 17th century to the present, elements of the Akan culture (e.g., language, names, ideologies, chieftaincy regalia and customs), had steadily become intertwined with elements of Akpini Ewe culture. For example, the stool name of one of the chiefs of Wusuta is Togbe Osei Tutu Brempong.

Consequences of German Colonial Political Economy on Kpando

Colonialism, usually viewed as a concept, practice and process, was a hegemonic force that characterized the end product of most European and African contacts in the second half of the second millennium CE. This had cultural consequences for both the colonized and the colonizer (Silliman 2005: 58). The Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, German, British and French colonialisms in Africa in the modern era of the 16th through the 20th centuries are all notable examples of foreign imperialism. In most of these cases, formal colonization did not begin until the Berlin conference of 1884 (Crowe 1942).

The exercise of hegemonic control and the establishment of colonial institutions over indigenes and their traditional structures did not happen overnight. The establishment of initial trade relations between Europeans and Africans led to the building of relative trust which ushered in European settler activities, mostly confined to coastal areas (Anquandah 1997; Kelly 1997). Eventually, such trusts gave way to animosities. European traders/officials gained the upper hand through processes of deception and by playing one ethnic group against the other. After the illegitimate trade in humans--presided over by gullible European capitalists and their local counterparts--the need for law and order to perpetuate legitimate trade in raw materials, which were in

high demand in the metropolis, led the British, French and Germans to indulge in the strategic use of advanced European armaments and security machinery to protect colonial installations. These force of arms (e.g., war rifles and maxim guns) were later used to subdue coastal and hinterland indigenes, quash rebellion and resistance to foreign domination and to set up a colonial military and police force. British mercantile/imperial machinations among the Fante coastal states of Cape Coast and Elmina before the mid-1800s (DeCorse 2001) as well as German missionary and colonial exchanges on the Togoland coast after 1880s are notable examples of the aforementioned processes (Conrad 2012; Sebald 1988).

The early 1880s marked the actualization of the formal agreement on territorial boundaries and legitimization of the partitioning of the globe by the major colonial states (Forster et. al 1989; Griffiths 1986). Ultimately, the British, French and the Germans partitioned “Eweland” (Map 9.1) to become known as the British Gold Coast Colony (which includes most of southern Eweland), the French Dahomey (present day Benin) and German Protectorate of Togoland (became Togo after 1905). Kpando and a number of northern Ewe communities lay in Togoland. Akpini oral histories recount that before German colonial agents visited Kpando in 1889, British Commissioner Ribby Williams had already been to the Peki and Kpando areas in 1887 to sign friendship and trade treaties and to distribute British (Union Jack) flags to chiefs. The Germans established colonial rule in Kpando and replaced the British flags. In the end they made the Kpando area a German protectorate in 1889 (Sebald 1988: 90).

German colonialism affected the Kpando peoples and vice-versa throughout the 30 years of German colonial rule. With Lome in Togoland as their headquarters, the Germans ruled Kpando as one of the important administrative stations. The German colonial regime established a settlement at Kpando-Todzi and built stone and brick residential houses and administrative offices to consolidate their rule. The various station masters used some of the colonial buildings in championing German colonial policy. The German officers focused on enhancing agricultural production and trade at Kpando. They encouraged cash cropping for export. Palm oil, rubber, coffee, cocoa,

live and skinned animals and local crafts were exchanged/traded by the locals for European goods (Darkoh 1966). The pressure put on Kpando and Togoland farmers by the Germans to grow only cash crops, like cotton, on their pieces of land caused a strain on the 'slash and burn' and traditional horticultural practices (Sebald 1988: 179).

The political economic impact of monetization was experienced on labor issues in the Kpando area. This culminated in the strategic adoption of new crops and livestock farming in households. This practice may have been more pronounced in the economically marginalized commoner households than in the elite and colonial official households. The oral histories reveal that these conditions of stress and limits on labor may have encouraged the increased production and consumption of more of the less labor intensive American domesticates (maize and cassava) by Kpando people. This restructuring of farming and diet may have reduced the hunting of large game with renewed emphases on livestock farming and hunting of small game, a pattern noted in other areas (Stahl 2001: 207-08). The colonial forces were more interested in ensuring the flow of primary products into the metropolis than in curtailing it. They also worked to keep the door wide open for the sale of manufactured goods to the colonized. The local farmers resisted economic exploitation of their agricultural products through local practices such as hoarding or holding back produce (e.g. corn, rubber, coffee) until prices increased. They also smuggled their produce to the British controlled Gold Coast for better sales.

The colonial authorities focused on improving infrastructure in the Kpando area. They implemented the road clearing ordinance by instructing the paramount chief and sub chiefs to clear and maintain roads leading into and out of their respective villages. This development enabled firms to relocate their stores and raw material purchasing points in the Kpando areas to effectively curtail the middlemen's channel of collection and distribution of goods (Knoll 1978). The modernization of communication lines and the opening up of the Kpando station in the palm and cotton belts of the interior also reconfigured Togoland societies and changed the conditions of trade until the outbreak of the First World War (Knoll 1978).



Map 9.1 Maps showing the boundaries of German Togoland, British Togoland and French Togoland (culled from Knoll 1967, p. 425 and Amenumey, 1989, p. 6 respectively)

Consequences of British Colonial Political Economy on Kpando

When the First World War became inevitable in August 1914, a subcommittee of the British Committee of Imperial Defense (made up of representatives of the Admiralty, War Office, Colonial Office and Indian Office) assembled in London (Moberly 1931; Smith 1967:276). They deliberated on strategies and recommended immediate attacks on German Togoland. Governor Herzog Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg the then head of German Togoland declared neutrality when the war started in 1914, but this was not heeded by the allied forces. The allied British infantry (West African Frontier Force: Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone) and French forces (Dahomey, Sierra Leone, Black infantry; Moberly 1931) clashed with the German forces to begin the first battle of the First World War in Togo. The telegraph station at Kamina and a number of communication lines in the south of Togoland were destroyed by the German officers and local *Askaris* when they retreated inland (Stoecker 1986). After a series of clashes, the allied forces overrun the Germans and they surrendered on August 26, 1914. The captured Germans (officials, soldiers, missionaries, merchants etc.)

were later deported from Togoland (Moberly 1931:39) by the western allies.

The end of German colonialism in Togoland did not translate into independence for the various states within the colony. The British and the French allied forces provisionally administered Togoland under martial law until a peace settlement was negotiated (Louis 1967:42). After the war, the Treaty of Versailles required Germany to relinquish all of its colonies to the western allies in addition to paying reparations. As a result, the Supreme Allied Council asked the French and the British to decide on the future of Togo. In order to legitimize their imperial hold, the French and the British agreed to place the annexed German territories under the “mandates system.” The mandate system was enshrined in Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant of 1919 and its mandated territories, mostly ex-German colonies, became subjected to the control of the League of Nations. In July 1919, the signing of the Simon–Milner Agreement led to the partitioning of German Togoland into British Togoland and French Togoland. Though the Ewe Unification Movement protested this move, the League of Nations later endorsed it (Amenumey 1986:20). The French ended up getting about two-thirds of the former German colony after ceding other territories and the rest of Togoland to Britain (Louis 1967:42).

From their administrative capital at Cape Coast in the Gold Coast, and later Accra the British oversaw the integration of Kpando and the other communities in the mandated German Togoland into the Gold Coast Colony. Under this British mandate, Kpando was made a district under the Southern Section of the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony. This district and that of Ho were under the supervision of a District Commissioner who lived at Kpando (ADM 11/1281). Kuklick (1979:71) notes that the British colonial officials on the ground emphasized and exercised different colonial projects throughout their reign in the Gold Coast and mandated areas. The British colonial regime took steps to assert their authority over the ex-German colony so as to legitimize their presence. Though, tentative steps were taken in the 1920s-1930s toward the development of an effective administration that marked a change from the German postwar era this change was difficult to achieve. The British continued to develop new

markets for the German colonial inspired cash crops and encouraged the extraction of local resources..

The British colonial officials reused the abandoned German facilities at Kpando-Todzi for about forty years. This arrangement worked well within their colonial policy of segregation. Just like the Germans, British colonial policy in 1908 dictated segregated European community housing. This policy created an enhanced image of the Europeans in the colony under the guise of promoting sanitation (Kuklick 1979: 123). The British maintained some of the German buildings while some of the units were destroyed and replaced with new structures. The colonial officers' mode of operation in Kpando oscillated between direct and indirect rule. They made the Chiefs of Kpando take on new roles even though they maintained their symbolic roles as the *Nunorla* (leaders) of their villages. Some of the new roles included building roads, collecting taxes, and recruiting laborers and hammock bearers. In the long run they made indirect rule seem a viable option in the Kpando area for the British colonial administration. Kucklick (1979) points out that the unofficial diaries of colonial officers often reveal the form of administration they pursued. While some of them were committed to effective administration, others were apathetic and practiced ineffectual administration. In this regard they became dictatorial and incurred the displeasure of the natives.

Resistance to British colonial rule in the Gold Coast and British Togoland gathered momentum through time even though there were differences in opinion among the people in the mandated territories. Even though some Ewe elites and nationalists organized series of petitions against British misrule in the Mandated German Territories (from 1914), a number of Ewe chiefs and educated elites also sent a delegation in 1918 to petition the British. The petition was "to support the inclusion of all Ewe-speaking peoples into the British colony of the Gold Coast in order to mitigate the social and economic difficulties that resulted from the severing of family, villages and economic relations through incorporation into the colonies of two different European powers" (Greene 2002: 23). The creation of a nationalist committee bearing the label of "Committee on Behalf of Togoland Natives" again petitioned the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Allied Powers

in March and September 1919 to consider their demand for all the Ewes to be amalgamated under the British Gold Coast. In addition, a group, *Bund der deutschen Togolander* made up of unemployed German educated ex-clerks also sent a number of petitions to the League of Nations in 1925, demanding the return of French Togoland to Germany as France was unfit to rule the territory (Amenumey 1989:27). In all these instances, the League of Nations under the influence of French and British lobbyist failed to heed their petition but rather endorsed French and British control over ex-German Togoland (Amenumey 1989: 11).

Even though the nationalists advocated a shared Ewe origin and identity, their aspirations became divided in the 1930s and 1940s (Agbodeka 2000). While some advocated for an independent and unified state of Eweland free of European control, others also sought Togoland unification with the inclusion of Ewes already in the Gold Coast. After the Second World War, the British and French Togoland mandates came under the purview of the United Nation Trusteeship Agreement. This was a designation which permitted the subjects to petition the United Nations for self-rule. In response, the local elites and the opinion leaders petitioned for self-rule, re-establishment of the German colony, and the unification of the Ewe. These quests became known as the Ewe Question in the United Nations. Path-finding missions to the mandated territories fashioned out a compromise after series of negotiations and assessment of recommendations. The United Nations asked people of British Togoland in a plebiscite whether they preferred to continue under British Trusteeship or to formally join the Gold Coast. The majority voted for the latter in 1956 and became part of independent Ghana on 6th March 1957 (Laumann 2005:26). French Togoland established an autonomous Republic of Togo in 1955 and it became an independent country in 1960 (Amenumey 1986: 21).

British colonial officials left the Kpando area after independence in 1957; however, the deeds of one British District Commissioner, Captain Lilley, still lingers in the memory of the Kpando natives. He was the Kpando District Commissioner from 1925 until the late 1930's. In the oral accounts, he is often described as a fearsome one-armed man and a strict disciplinarian who put idle indigenes to task whenever he saw

them hanging out. He also initiated a number of sanitation and road projects in the district. Most of the people I interviewed during the course of the research still refer to the colonial residence at Kpando Todzi as Captain Lilley's residence.

The issues raised above have provided insights into the historical trajectory of Germany and Britain's involvement with hitherto independent and tribute communities in West Africa. A reflection on this hegemonic and historical contingency brings to the fore a number of lessons that should never be repeated in how humans deal with each other. Economic and political necessities sometimes compel human activities and practices to transcend humane practices, especially when such practices are given ideological, scriptural and consensual political backing by missionaries and powerful states. An assessment of how these macro political economic encounters registered on the micro level is the focus of the next section which provides insights into the residues and legacies of these hegemonic political economic encounters in Kpando, a hinterland society on the frontiers of local imperial and foreign colonizing powers.

Archaeology, Imperial Capitalism and Material Culture

Studying the materials and colonial spaces that distinguish colonial agents and indigenes as well as the range of forms they used, enables scholars to address aspects of daily agency, practice and the negotiation and formation of social distinctions (Hall 2000) at colonial sites. An archaeological research was conducted on the Kpando-Todzi colonial settlement to reveal material findings that throw light on the German and British colonial lifeways on the site (Apoth 2008, 2013). Four loci at the Kpando Todzi settlement were archaeologically excavated. The loci include the courtyard and environs of the Main building, the rubbish mound associated with the local support staff quarters and the rubbish mound site associated with the Main building. The test excavations yielded an assemblage of material culture. Notably, local pottery, imported ceramics, glass vessels, bone remains, beads, cowries, bullet shell casings and other metals, house remains, and botanical materials were the predominant finds. Through the analysis

of the pottery remains, the varieties of form were classified into two main categories: “jars” (known in Kpando as *Ze*); and “bowls” (locally known as *kole*). The Kpando-Todzi pottery was expertly made and is comprised of thin- and thick-walled vessels. Imported ceramic finds were also part of the excavated assemblage at the Todzi site. One key imported ceramic find from the site was a complete bone China earthenware plate with an embossed Ghana Coat of Arms close to the edge of the plate. This embossment obviously dates the plate to the postcolonial era and commemorates the change from the ‘Gold Coast’ to the ‘Republic of Ghana’ following her independence from the British in 1957.

The analysis of the context of deposition of faunal residues reveals the kinds of fauna that members of each locus were eating. Notably, fish, turkey, sheep, goat, chicken and some delicacies of mollusca (e.g., *Arca senilis*, *Archatina archatina*) were found at the Main building context. These might have been enjoyed by the colonial officials, Ghana government officials and or their guests. Residues of both domesticated animals and wild forms/bushmeat were found in the rubbish middens. This suggests that the Todzi inhabitants were exploiting different kinds of meat protein. A number of artifacts i.e. metals, beads, glass ware, European/local smoking pipes, bullet shell casings, cowries, buttons, were also found in association with the ceramic, faunal and botanical remains at the excavated loci. An important metallic find comprised four bullet shell casings that were excavated from the Locus A courtyard of the Main building. These shells confirmed the oral accounts that the colonial officials shot into the baobab tree located at the northern end of the courtyard for entertainment and for target practice. Other metallic finds like coins were excavated and these were minted and used in the postcolonial period as they bore post 1957 dates.

The impact of colonial capitalism is evident in the use of foreign materials on the site. The introduction and use of new architecture, clothing, containers and elements of wealth accumulation and exchange usually present opportunities for social display. For instance, local Kpando elites and migrants with purchasing power adopted European architectural styles and selectively adopted some other

products (textile) or European eating manners to serve as a mark of social distinction and gentility (Apoah 2008). On the other hand, the appropriation of imported European food and expressions of European mannerisms by colonial officials in colonial situations were meant to promote Europeaness as a source of power and a dialectical challenge to indigenous ways of life (Stoler 1989). It is worth noting that these distinctive practices were not always monolithic; they were blurred in many contexts (e.g., foodways and discard behavior). In this regard, the study of material remains of architecture, domestic technology and foodways (by Akpinis and foreign actors) when compared with documentary sources can help us address the silences regarding daily practice of natives and Europeans at Kpando and their use of imperial capitalist material culture.

Post-colonial engagement with neo-imperialist domination and exploitation is an unfinished business of struggles and negotiations against neo-colonialism (Nkrumah 1964; Pels 1997:16). Most Marxists note that a later stage of imperialism developed in the beginning of the 20th century (Lenin 1939). This stage, generally noted as modern or neo-imperialism, maneuvered on a “relationship with material culture” and “fixed orders of racial and cultural difference” (Gosden 2004:4, 22). It is also characterized by the acquisition of the control of means of production in less industrial economies of the world. Additionally, the direct and indirect political manipulation and control of the financial and political economies of ex-colonies by ex-colonial powers, are meant to keep the neo-imperial umbilical cord still attached (Nkrumah 1964). This practice is evident in the continuing political economic ties and their ramifications between France and its ex-colonial Francophone countries in Africa as well as between Britain and her Commonwealth countries. The basis of all these neo-imperial or neo-colonial tactics lies in the prevailing need to expand capitalism and globalization so as to create access to much needed raw materials and market for surplus capitalist goods in a neo-colonial world order (Thomas 1991). This contemporary phenomenon cannot be delinked from the imperialist discourse that afforded an ideological drive for Akwamu and Asante imperialism as well as German and British

mercantilism, capitalism, and colonial exploitation in Kpando and its environs in the past.

Conclusion

Specific effects of broader/macro imperial and colonial processes can be well examined at the local/micro level. Through routinized practices, imperial and colonial decisions and policies drafted in the metropolises were implemented at the last link in the chain of imperial and colonial command. Analysis of colonial practices at the grass roots level provides evidence that enables scholars and audiences to understand colonial lifeways. The implication of imperial and colonial practices on extant institutions such as chieftaincy, bureaucracy, literacy, native languages and consciousness, labor issues, subsistence and domestic practices, and archaeological patterning at settlement sites, helps to exemplify or substantiate understandings and claims about imperial and colonial processes and consequences.

On the whole, local acceptance or resistance to Akwamu, Asante, German and British imperial and colonial rules must not only be generalized but must be looked at from case by case basis as well. This is because local responses to imperial and colonial rule were selective (Greene 2002). In some situations there were outright and sustained fights against imperial and colonial domination. In other settings, some locals saw their neighbors as a threat to their freedom and survival. As a result they (e.g., the Anlo Ewe) allied with local imperial forces and foreign colonialists in order to enjoy their protection and firepower over their rival group or enemies. Other locals also negotiated, manipulated or cooperated wholeheartedly with the imperialists and colonizers in order to keep control or have leverage over their own destinies.

The substance of this research is to draw attention to the shared Akwamu, Asante, German, British and Akpini histories and heritage resources in the Volta Region of Ghana. The findings also contribute to comparative case studies aimed at assessing commonalities and variations in intercultural entanglements and agency in locally exploited and colonized hinterland regions of the world.

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Chapter 10

An Approach to Interpretation and Presentation of Tangible Cultural Heritage: The Case of Christiansborg and Fort Metal Cross in Ghana

H. Nii-Adziri Wellington and Fritz Biveridge

Introduction

Reference to the phrase “tangible cultural heritage” in this paper, is to allude essentially to one of the three UNESCO categorisations designated as “Cultural Heritage”. The term “heritage” appearing in this context is found to be complex. It is a term that does not lend itself to easy understanding because its definition is shaped and contoured by a variety of viewpoints and perspectives.¹

These different viewpoints and divergent perspectives often make the framework for academic discussion and discourse of heritage as a notion or a concept rather elusive, and at times confusing. Lack of clarity of the framework often contributes to, and reinforces the interplay of polemics and politics in undermining the appreciation of the relevance and significance of the role of heritage in socio-economic and national development. It is therefore necessary to preface discussion of an approach to tangible heritage interpretation and presentation by exploring some known definitions of the term “heritage”.

Starting with the Merriam-Webster Dictionary’s explanation of the term, heritage is understood to be 1) property that descends to an heir; 2a) something transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor (legacy; inheritance); 2b) tradition. In addition to these explanations, “heritage”, according to the Oxford Dictionary, is also understood to connote: “property that is or maybe inherited; an inheritance; valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations.” Over and

above these explanations, the one found comprehensive and which fits well into the thrust of the discussion of this paper is that of the Montreal Council on Heritage. It states that “ heritage means any asset or group of assets, natural or cultural, tangible or intangible, that a community recognises for its value as a witness to history and memory, while emphasising the need to safeguard, to protect, to adopt, to promote and to disseminate such heritage” (Conseil du Patrimoine de Montreal, May, 2005).²

Against this background, it becomes understandable and meaningful to discuss tangible cultural heritage as the focus of interpretation and presentation in this paper. Using the two Ghanaian case examples, Christiansborg or Osu Castle and Fort Metal Cross, we demonstrate the essential features that stand out when immovable and moveable tangible cultural heritage properties are interpreted and presented from architectural design/historical perspective and archaeological viewpoints. On one hand, the architectural design perspective adopted focuses on the interpretation and presentation of the immovable properties related to tangible cultural heritage. On the other hand, the archaeological analysis undertaken in the context of this paper addresses the moveable components associated with tangible cultural heritage. In this regard, the architecture of Christiansborg is used as an example to demonstrate the interpretation and presentation of immovable cultural heritage, whereas the artefacts found around Fort Metal Cross are used as examples to demonstrate the interpretation of moveable cultural heritage. The joint consideration of these two examples provides a framework that outlines the diverse scales of heritage properties that can be identified with historic sites associated with the 17th century European fortifications in Ghana. The Christiansborg site reveals immovable heritage elements such as the spatial and structural arrangements, walling system, fenestration and openings, towers, and others. The Fort Metal Cross site on the other hand reveals moveable artefacts including grinding stone, pottery, smoking pipes, ceramics, metal implements, and ecofacts including molluscs, faunal and floral remains.

Guidelines and Theoretical Notions for Interpretation and Presentation

Directed by the guidelines set out by the ICOMOS, the interpretation and presentation of the identifiable heritage properties have taken into consideration the issues of contextualisation, authenticity and due cognisance to avoid commodification³. Against this background, the essential features of these case examples, their significance, values and meaning as cultural heritage properties are elucidated for appreciation by those who encounter and experience them. To go into the guidelines, it is necessary to understand what constitutes interpretation and presentation when applied to tangible cultural heritage, especially in the case of immovable and moveable properties such as the case examples referred to in this paper. In accordance with the ICOMOS Charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites (ICOMOS Charter-Draft 2007)⁴, the two notions are seen as integrated and essential components of heritage conservation. Perceived in this light, “interpretation” as a notion, is understood to refer to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site or property. As a compliment to this notion, “presentation” denotes the carefully planned communication of interpretive content through the arrangement of interpretive information provision at a heritage site or for a heritage property⁵.

These notions contained in the ICOMOS Charter are used as the basis to interpret and present the selected case examples. In strengthening the approach adopted in the interpretation and presentation in this paper, the ICOMOS Charter’s notions will be infused with the philosophical explanation given by Freeman Tilden (1977) to encapsulate what interpretation entails. According to him it is “the work of revealing, to such visitors as desire the service, something of the beauty and wonder, the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his senses perceive”.

Approaches in Interpretation and Presentation of Tangible Cultural Heritage ⁶

The case of Christiansborg, the Osu Castle, located in the Ghanaian national capital, Accra, is generically an architectural contraption with features of a fortification and a slave Emporium (Anquandah, 1999: 11; Priddy, 1969:5; Storsveen, 2010: 76; van Dantzig, 1980: 32; William St Clair, 2006: 214). The design of most of the so-called European fortifications share this generic form and character of Christiansborg (Anquandah, 1999: 10-11; van Dantzig 1980: vi; van Dantzig and Priddy, 1971:8-9, William St Clair, 2006: 184-186). As it has been stated by many scholars (Anquandah 1999; Degn 2000; Lawrence 1963; van Dantzig 1980), Christiansborg, the only west African European Fortification, slave emporium, that experienced the most aggrandizement in its form and structure (Lawrence 1963), started as a Lodge, developed on the foundations of earlier lodges built by the Portuguese, the Swedes, and possibly the Dutch (Anquandah, *ibid*: 24; Lawrence, *ibid*; van Dantzig 1980; 29-32).

Thus, the Danish Lodge was a transient and transitory makeshift structure. It was intended not to be of any significance, apart from the fact that it was intentionally built to provide a fortified space for basic activities in trading and living for sojourning Danes on the Guinea Coast, who at that time had not anticipated a long duration of stay. Their envisioned slave emporium, in semblance of a 17th century European fortification, was to be sited on the promontory at the Osu coastal strip, the most apparent secured place to ensure and guarantee permanence on the Guinea Coast.

As stated by Anquandah, “Christiansborg Castle is unique among the castles and forts as it served as Government House during various periods in the 19th and 20th centuries and continues to play that role today” (Anquandah, 1999: 24). In the same vein, its history is unique while it stands now in the 21st century as a World Heritage Site which is not accessible to visitors because of its security restrictions. When its birth in 1661 on the promontory at Osu as a Danish fort occurred, it was a design of a small size generic fortification, modelled after the premier Fort Sao George at Elmina. It was a rectilinear and symmetrical

structure in plan, with four bastions/batteries on the corners, which were interconnected by massive monolithic curtain-walls that surrounded an open courtyard and a three tier lodgings with a guard room and a flag-tower as shown in Figure 10.1(A). ⁷ The building's entrance, distinctly marked out in the curtain-wall but without a spur as found in the generic fortifications, was oriented northwards towards the Osu community. Osu was nestling as a small settlement occupied by the Adangme migrants and the uprooted families who had been brought there from Allada on the Slave Coast to the east, by the Portuguese as forced labour to build the first ever European lodge.

Below the raised elevated floors facing the Atlantic Ocean, were vaulted dungeons stringed along the east and south walls of the rocky foundation structure. The building materials for the curtain-walls and bastions, such as Danish bricks and ballast stones were added to locally quarried Osu sandstones to erect the massive curtain walls and bastions, and to create the vaulted dungeons and walled rooms. (Monrad 1805-1809: 165). The construction works were executed by Danish builders with the help of local artisans and unskilled slave labour (Rask: 1708-1713; 154). As the Danes widened the volume of their trade in gold and slaves, the modest fortification at Osu, from the 18th century onwards, continued to grow, rather organically out of the confines of its original symmetrically arranged structure. In addition to the Portuguese Roman Catholic chapel erected in 1683, other architectural entities that came into existence were quarters for soldiers and fort staff; underground water cisterns, warehouses, magazine, a celebrated spur at the north entrance gate, functional outworks on the north and west sides of the battlements, slave holding-outworks, bell tower, and a three tier watch-tower, named Provesteen, were positioned outside the west outworks in the direction of the Dutch Fort at Accra (refer Figures 10.4 and 10.5).

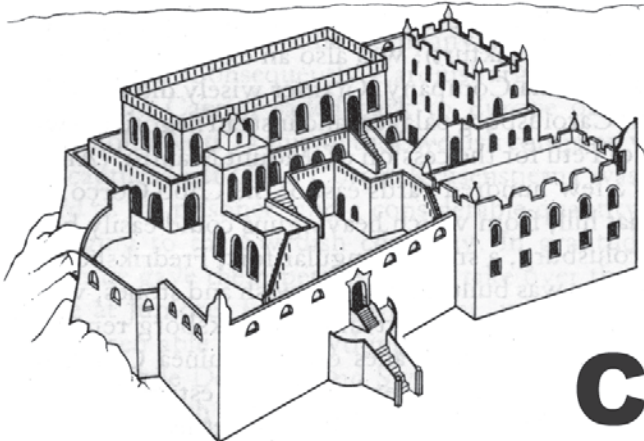
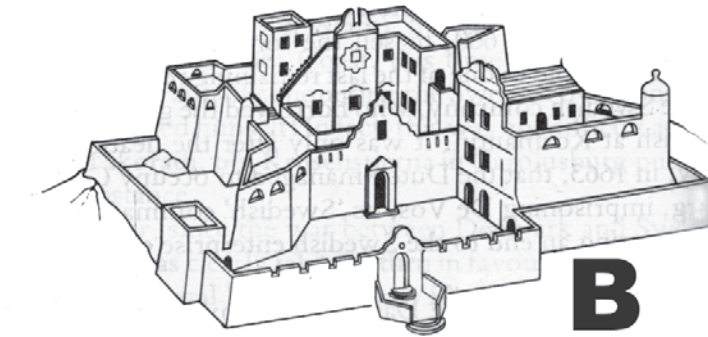
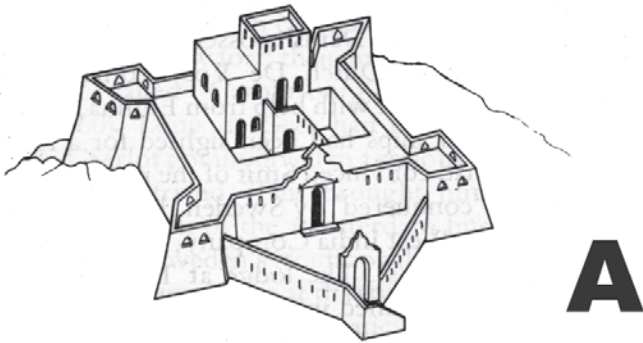


Figure 10.1. Showing the development of Christiansborg, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries
Courtesy Albert van Dantzig in his book: "Forts and Castles of Ghana" (1980; 30).

In course of its growth as a building complex in the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th centuries, and even into the 21st century, Christiansborg has had a checked architectural history that has culminated



Figure 10.2. View of North side of the Osu Castle

Courtesy Thierry Secretan in “Castles and Forts of Ghana” by Kwesi J. Anquandah (1999)



Figure 10.3. View into the historic courtyard of the Osu Castle, showing 18th century Governor Engmann's Cistern and the staircase leading to the Governor's Parlour.

Courtesy Thierry Secretan in Castles and Forts of Ghana by Kwesi J. Anquandah (1999)

in the Osu Castle, and still functioning as a seat of government. Its building fabric now consists of various extensions to provide for business of governance and place of ceremonial receptions in the old governor's parlour.

As seen in Figures 10.2 and 10.3, Christiansborg, the Danish Slave Emporium that became the headquarters of the Danish Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade has evolved architecturally into a building ensemble of an eclectic architecture. That notwithstanding, it has a design integrity rooted in its historical core structure and form. In appreciating Christiansborg as a design entity, used by the Danes to pursue their economic objectives and trade interests and to provide them with space to sojourn in an inclement and hostile environment, some architectural features can be identified. For example, the physical expressions of "territoriality," "boundaries" and "filters" tends to emanate from its historical core form and character ⁸.

These physical expressions that outline the unique features of Christiansborg, lends strength and power to it as a designed fortification. Thus the slave emporium that created the physical environment to shape, determine, influence and facilitate the geo-political, socio-cultural and economic dynamics that played out in the other European fortifications and in the surrounding communities at the time (van Dantzig, 1980: 32). By examining one of the physical expressions, territoriality, as an example, the paper attempts to understand how these physical expressions impacted the environment that shaped and influenced the life and living of the various groups of people that sojourned and passed through the walls of Christiansborg over the centuries.

In Figures 10.4 and 10.5 are illustrations of elements of physical expressions of "territoriality" as found in the architectural design of Christiansborg. Territoriality is an expression of ownership and power of control of space and what is contained therein. It is a natural phenomenon that manifests in all cultures and human experience. And in the case of Christiansborg, it was expressed in the chosen military architecture located on the Osu promontory, and articulated by the white painted high stone curtain-walls linked by bastions, spur, outworks, flag-tower, bell-tower and a watch- tower that all together

combine to mark out a replica of the kingdom of Denmark at Osu. This expression of Danish “territoriality” was to communicate to the local Osu community as well as any approaching European foe or friend, from the sea or the land, the fact that here marks the presence of Denmark (van Dantzig, 1980: 8).



Figure 10.4: View of Christiansborg, showing the promontory, the fortification with its curtain walls, bastions, and Flag-tower, flying the oversize Danish Flag, *Dannebrog*. Courtesy Barbot (1682) in “Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa” (1963 plate 42 a)

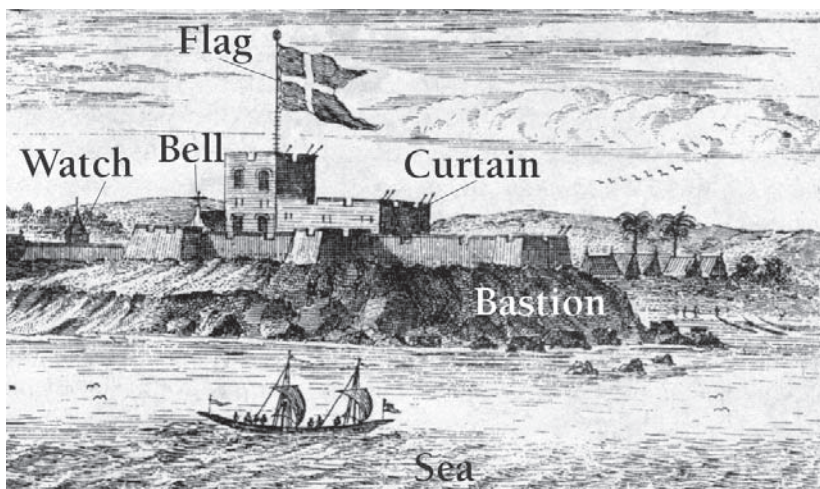


Figure 10.5: View of Christiansborg from the sea showing the Watch Tower Provosteen, Belltower inside the fort, the Flagtower and the fortification on the promontory. Courtesy Churchill’s *Voyages* (Christiansborg at around 1700) in Thorkild Hansen’s “Coast of Slaves” (1967: 49).

This expression of “territoriality” as epitomised in the architecture of Christiansborg has been aptly alluded to by Per Hernaes (Carstensen, 2010: xii-xxii.) and Carstensen who, referring to his draft document on instructions for the management of the Danish properties in the Gold Coast, stated; “No 1: The management of the Guinean Establishment shall have its seat in the Chief Fort Christiansborg- it consists of the Governor and the second closer administration officers as councillors. No 2: The main objectives of the Establishment shall be: To guard the territorial rights of His Majesty over the regions and places whose inhabitants fly the Danish flag...” (ibid: 101). In similar vein, the physical expression of “territoriality” of Christiansborg persisted into the 19th century when it became the seat of the British administration. It eventually became the seat of the Government of Ghana. This makes Christiansborg, known today as the Osu Castle, synonymous with power of control. The identifiable physical expression of territoriality in the architectural design of Christiansborg, as seen in this interpretation and presentation, without doubt, adds significantly to its architectural history which deeply underpinned and provided the platform for the Danish involvement in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

The Case of Fort Metal Cross in Dixcove

Prior to the construction of Fort Metal Cross in 1692, Dixcove had for over a century been the focus of very intense commercial rivalry among the Brandenburgers, English, French and Dutch being the main contenders for that coastline stretch. This was because Dixcove had become an important commercial entrepot where notable traditional export commodities like gold, ivory and salt were channeled en route to Europe and America. Dixcove is located in the Western Region of Ghana (Map 10.1). An Englishman named Charles Hinson is believed to have negotiated and sought the consent of the Chief and tribal elders of Dixcove to pave way for the construction of Fort Metal Cross at its present site (Lawrence 1963: 293). Five reasons have been assigned for its construction which are: first, to halt the activities of interloper captains and the national charter companies’ of the Brandenburgers and Dutch who were briskly conducting trade there to the detriment of English traders (Lawrence 1963: 292). Second, the cove at Dixcove

was always calm which made berthing of ships, embarkation and disembarkation of cargo safe (Lawrence 1963: 292). Third, Dixcove had abundant reserves of lime, timber and hard rock (granite and gneiss) required for the refurbishment of ships and English trade factories on the Gold Coast (Lawrence 1963: 294, 298 & 308). Fourth, Dixcove was a preference point for the procurement of freshwater and food for the outbound journey to Europe and America (Lawrence 1963: 297 - 298) and lastly, quality palm oil was easily obtainable there (Barbot 1732 151; Dickson 1969 122). According to Lawrence (1963: 292), no European fortification on the Guinea Coast resisted as many sieges and severe bombardments as Fort Metal Cross; the attacks due mainly to trade disputes with the Dutch and Brandenburgers. This resulted in several major architectural transformations to its original design to enhance its impregnability (Figure 10.6)

For well over three centuries, the fort played a primal role in Anglo-Ahanta trade and vied with Fort St Anthony (Axim) and Fort Batenstein (Butre) as the leading commercial entrepot on the western seaboard of the Gold Coast. Even after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, when most of the forts became commercially unviable, the English never abandoned it and it became an indispensable station for the procurement of lime and wooden planks (Lawrence 1963: 307).

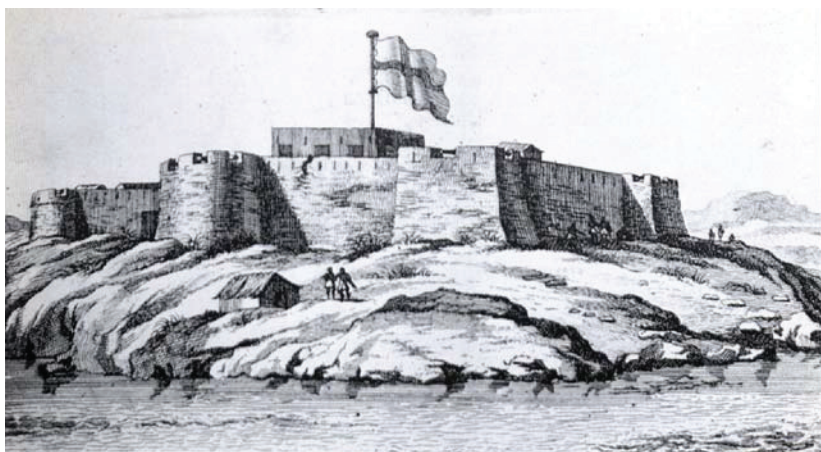


Figure 10.6. Fort Metal Cross, circa 1709 (Artist unknown). Source: Public Records office, London.

Archaeological excavations undertaken around the precincts of Fort Metal Cross (Map 10.1) yielded veritable quantities of cultural materials of local and external origins. They provide a glimpse into past life-ways and the cultural heritage of both the English settlers who occupied the fort and the Ahanta people who inhabit the area. The local materials included a wide variety of local pottery, slag, metal objects, tuyeres, molluscs, grinding stones, daub, floral and faunal remains; while the latter comprised smoking pipes, ceramics, alcoholic beverage bottles, remains of metal implements and red bricks. Others cultural remains recovered included tar, glass beads, roofing tiles and writing slates.

In all, two units were opened at different locations around the fort. The first designated Unit 1 measured 4 x 1.5 meters and was located 2.5 meters east of the fort while the second designated Unit 2 measured 2 x 2 meters and was located 11.3 meters northeast of the fort. No units were opened north and west of the fort because the former area was heavily settled and convoluted with little space available for excavation, while the west end of the fort merged steeply into the cove. Sterile level for Unit 1 was 100 centimeters while that for Unit 2 was 250 centimeters. Tables 1 and 2 below show the types of cultural materials recovered from the two units and their quantity.



Map 10.1 Showing Dixcove and neighbouring villages

Table 10.1. Types / quantum of cultural materials of local origin recovered from Units 1 and 2.

Types of Cultural materials	Daub	Grinding stone	Local pottery	Molluscs	Slag	Faunal remains	Tuyeres	Floral remains
Unit 1	-	-	197	364	20	68	1	27
Unit 2	26	9	1,129	4,841	33	896	1	84
Total	26	9	1,326	5,205	53	937	2	111

Table 10.2. Types / quantum of cultural materials of external origins recovered from Units 1 and 2.

Types of Cultural materials	Smoking pipes	Imported ceramics	Glass beads	Metal implements	Alcoholic beverage bottles	Bricks	Slate	Metal button	Tar
Unit 1	29	71	6	26	76	7	7	-	1
Unit 2	171	854	802	1,300	1,477	8	18	1	7
Total	200	925	808	1,326	1,553	15	25	1	8

The types and quantum of cultural materials of local origin recovered (Table 10.1) at both the pre European contact levels and post European contact levels is clear testimony that the indigenous Ahanta practiced a number of subsistence strategies during the period covered by the study which spanned the seventeenth to early twentieth century's. Over half of the count of faunal materials recovered (937, NISP) comprised of *Pisces* remains (502). This appears to support the notion that the exploitation of marine/freshwater fisheries and molluscs were probably the dominant vocations of the period. It was not possible to identify all the species of *Pisces* since the bulk were heavily fragmented and lacked established reference marks. However, the few that could be identified revealed that they belonged to both on-shore and off-shore species. Some species identified as belonging to the former included *Prionoche glauca*, *Alecti alexandrines*, *Istiophorus albicans*, *Caranx crysos* and *Decapterus rhonchus*. Fishes identified as belonging to the latter included *Arius heudeloti*, *Clarias gariepinus*, and *Clarias gariepinus*.

All the shellfish were identified as belonging to the phyla *Mollusca*. They were broadly classified into two classes namely: *Bivalvia* and *Gastropoda*. The following were identified as belonging to the former: *Aca senelis*, *Arca afra*, *Thais haemastoma*, *Tagelus angulatus*, *Semifusus morio* and *Donax rugosa*. *Pitari atumens*, *Patella safiana* and *Terebra* sp. constituted species identified as belonging to the latter. All of the above named mollusc species are still exploited in the research area and constitute an integral part of their daily diet.

Potting was probably another important vocation of the indigenes of ancient Dixcove attested to by the veritable numbers of potsherds of local origin in the archaeological record (1,326). The predominant mineral constituents in the potsherds were quartz, hornblende and plagioclase feldspars which incidentally are also the principal mineral constituents of rocks in the research area (Kesse 1985: 45). This indicates that local potters sourced the clay raw material from their neighbourhood. Reconstruction of the larger sherds revealed that they produced several vessel types/forms. A comparative study of the reconstructed vessels with current ethnographic models in use at Dixcove revealed that the predominant types included vessels used

for water and food storage, cooking, pulverizing materials, medicine preparation and for holding condiments.

Analysis and count of the recovered local pottery assemblages revealed that there was a significant decrease in the production and use of large deep seated vessels forms such as those utilized in food pulverization and cooking at levels which corresponded with the post European contact period. During this same period, there was a significant increase in the quantum of imported ceramics suggesting there was a gradual shift from the use of local vessels to imported ones by the local community (Table 10.2).

The recovery of slags and tuyeres are indicative of the practice of iron smelting/metalworking at ancient Dixcove. Out of a total of 53 pieces of slag with gross weight of 59 kilograms recovered, 39 pieces were found at pre European contact levels while only 14 were found at the European contact levels. This is suggestive that the technology of iron smelting predated the arrival of Europeans to the area. Similarly, the slag data appears to support the notion that the industry may have been thriving before Europeans arrived. It is worthy to note that it would have required the use of hardy tools fashioned from iron to successfully undertake manually dexterous vocations like gold mining and horticulture; which several historical records posit were common pastimes of the people of ancient Dixcove (Dumett 1987: 227, Barbot 1712: 579).

However, it is worth noting that the period consequent to the arrival of Europeans saw a gradual decrease in the quantum of slag recovered, suggesting there was gradual decline in local production until about levels 2 and 3 when its recovery ceased altogether and the industry probably ceased in the research area. While the archaeological data provided ample evidence of declining levels of slag, it did not provide veritable evidence to explain why this occurred. The problem is further exacerbated by the unavailability of documentary sources regarding the issue. It was thus, difficult to scientifically provide an explanation. However, it is worth noting that several historical sources (Daaku 1970: 38, DeCorse 2001: 6,134,174 & van Dantzig 1980: 26) posit that a wide variety of metal products including knives, basins, hoes and mattocks constituted important items which were

imported onto the Gold Coast by Europeans. It is thus not improbable that imported metal implements were widely available and could be procured with relative ease during the period. This situation may have led to decreasing demand for locally produced ones; a situation which could have contributed to declining levels of production, collapse and gradual demise of the local iron working industry at Dixcove.

The large number of imported trade goods attested not only to vibrant commercial relations between the locals and the English residents of the fort but also to the adoption of several European cultural life-ways by the indigenous populace during the period under study. Analysis of imported artifactual assemblages retrieved indicated that even though the English were the principal European power trading there, they did not enjoy a trade monopoly because several of the imported items recovered like smoking pipes and ceramics were manufactured elsewhere in Europe. The bulk of the white kaolin clay smoking pipes for example originated from The Netherlands; while the ceramics came from far and diverse places like China, the Rhineland (Germany) and The Netherlands. The bulk of the glass beads also originated from Venice and Bohemia. It was also probable that some of these products may have found their way to the research area via interloper captains and traders from other nations who secretly conducted trade there.

It appears from historical records that indigenous contact with the English did not only increase the volume of items traded through this trade network but also diversified it creating new vistas of trade in Europe and the New World. For instance in 1686, staff of the *Royal Africa Company* at Barbados bitterly complained that some *ardra* cloth taken from their vessels, the *Prosperous* and the *Orange Tree*, which had arrived from the Gold Coast were “short by several pieces” (Daaku 1970: 27). There is strong archaeological evidence to suggest that the coastal trade impacted both positively and negatively on ancient Dixcove society. Its positivity can be gleaned from three areas. First, it made possible the introduction of a motley of European novelties like Western clothing, ceramics, tobacco, glass beads and metal products into the local community. Second, it was probably the single most important factor which facilitated cross cultural contacts between the

Ahanta settlers of the area and the English because trading ensured that they were in regular contact for over three centuries. Lastly, it generated financial prosperity for the local who engaged in the trade. This is attested to by the presence of several opulent European styled houses located along the beachfront.

It appears from the archaeological evidence that one negative consequence of the coastal trade was that it swamped local markets with several cheap European manufactured goods which eventually displaced locally produced ones leading to their collapse and demise. The local ironworking/smelting and potting industries are two such industries which appear to have suffered from the mass importation of European metal implements and ceramic wares. There are strong archaeological indications also to suggest that European trade items impacted on traditional life-ways. This was glaringly evident in four areas namely; local dress codes, architecture, traditional cuisine and tobacco smoking through pipes. The recovery of 808 glass beads is testimony that the locals embraced European dress attires and styles. The bulk consisted of monochromes and a few polychromes with multiple colour ranges simultaneously displayed on each. Most were in disc and spherical shapes. Other artifacts associated with European dress code which were recovered included three remains of imported metal hooks believed to be remains of belt hooks and one metal dress button.

The presence of several European architectural styled houses located along the beachfront also attests to the adoption of European architecture by the indigenes. Currently, 13 of these structures which comprise both single and double storied houses are still standing though derelict and dilapidated. They were built on stone foundations with stone-block walls, laid course by course and held together with lime/sand mortar mix and topped with roofs overlain with baked clay and slate roofing tiles. They contained several rooms which opened into a large central courtyard where much of the daily household activities were carried out. They also had large glass windows affixed on iron frames which opened outwards. The recovery of education related materials such as fragments of writing slates and inkwells, undoubtedly, provides a strong indication of the importance of

literacy and Western education at ancient Dixcove. Further archaeological investigations need to be undertaken to establish the impact of Western education and literacy on the indigenous community.

The recovery of 111 palm kernel shells amply demonstrates that crop cultivation was another important vocation of the people. The fact that it was recovered at all levels and in veritable numbers suggests that it has been an integral aspect of the local diet of the indigenes for several centuries. According to Clark and Brandt (1984), oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) was an important cultigen of Ghana's coastal populations prior to the advent of Europeans. Rapid urbanization and expanding local markets, consequences of the coastal trade may have stimulated its growth in the region. Other important widely cultivated cultigens documented in historical records included a variety of tubers and millet; all of which contributed significantly to traditional diet (Barbot 1732:179). The study revealed that there was extensive transformation to the life ways of both the English and Ahanta at Dixcove from the mid-17th century onwards. Changes in English life-ways were primarily the consequence of the African presence and their relocation and resettlement at Dixcove coastline which required adaptation to new environmental conditions and adoption of new cultigens and food ways among other cultural traits. For the Ahanta, much of the change was externally induced primarily by European culture and trade goods of the time.

Conclusion

Both Christiansborg and Fort Metal Cross, together with the other 60 odd extant forts and castles strung along the length and breadth of the coast of Ghana, have the status of a World Heritage Site as recognised by the UNESCO. This paper therefore concludes by emphasising the significance of this exploratory approach to interpretation and presentation of tangible cultural heritage and calls for a further examination of how the approach can be applied in other similar case examples.

End notes

1. Aplin (2002) in his book, “Heritage – Identification, Conservation and Management”, also refers to the difficulties associated with the term “heritage”. He consequently pursues an extensive discourse on Heritage as a concept (Aplin, 2002, 12-15).
2. Refer http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=6417,52711631&_dad
3. The following constitutes explanation of the key notions of contextualisation, authenticity and commodification as referred to in this paper:

Contextualisation

For a meaningful interpretation and presentation to be made of a tangible cultural heritage site or property, it should be necessary to set and outline the site in its historical, cultural, and geographical settings. Over and above the property itself, the needs of the visitors who seek to engage with the site must also be put into context with regards to eg age, gender, educational background, interests, language, and physical state.

Authenticity

Deriving meaning out of the available information and communicating significance and values of the intangible cultural heritage property to visitors should not be clouded and shrouded in subjective views that may undermine the integrity of the related historic fabric and original cultural values and reference points. Exposure of the site to adverse impact of overbearing and intrusive interpretive materials or facilities that are inaccurate or inappropriate can undermine the authenticity of a tangible cultural heritage property.

Commodification

In as much as communication of information about a tangible cultural heritage should lead to provocation and generation of new insights together with understanding and positive emotions within visitors, to package the information so as to induce controlled impact and manipulative effect, is considered unethical and a way of commodification of a heritage property.

4. Refer www.intentions.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf
5. Refer http://scholarworks.umass.edu/efsp_pub_articles/9
6. The materials used in this paper to illustrate the approach explored in the case of Christiansborg, and Fort Metal Cross were adapted by the authors from papers presented at the Multidisciplinary International Conference on Shadows of Empire – Studies of Empire Fortifications in West Africa, held in July 1st-2nd 2012 at the African Studies Conference Hotel, UG, Accra, organised by the Department of History and the Technical University of Norway.
7. In Figure 10.1 (A-C), the various remarkable features of Christiansborg according to van Dantzig's illustrations (1980: 30) are seen in the following:
(A) The four bastions on the corners of the square shape fort located on a promontory; the battlement; the flag-tower, the celebrated entrance gate in the curtain wall and the spur.
(B) The installed bell-tower; the small size watch-tower and the outworks on the east, north and west of the curtain walls; the reduced-size spur.

- (C) The impressive Governor's Parlour with ceremonial staircases; the increase in the height of the walls enclosing the outworks; the ceremonial spur and the battlements with parapets over the double-storey buildings on the north-west and south-west
8. These notions are derived from Rapport (1969) and Lynch (1960) who both employed built-environmental and ecological determinism principles to analyse house forms and cities as influenced by culture and history.

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Chapter 11

The Quest for Meaning in African Artistic Representations – A Case Study of Materials from Archaeological Contexts in Ghana

James Anquandah

Introduction - Defining ‘Art’ and ‘Aesthetic’.

‘Art’ is a broad and somewhat abstract term employed in Western cultural traditions. Both as a concept and a practice, it is dynamic and expansive. As such, a perfect, all-purpose definition is hard to come by. Western art scholars of the earlier part of the 20th century thought of a visual work of art as something “unique, complex, irreplaceable and non-reproducible” (Adams, 1989:57). Its production required a contemplative, self-composed attitude. Such art was deemed authentic and commanded admiration and respectability on account of its identifiable authorship, its associated historical traditions and its acknowledged genre, forms and styles. Such art had its own “laws” and could be judged and discussed independently of the practical concerns of life and contextual usages. It was termed “art for art’s sake” because it entailed “aesthetic distancing”.

From this standpoint, sculptural images produced in Sub-Saharan Africa could hardly qualify as ‘art.’ Rather, they were deemed by Western scholars of the past to belong more to the category of “mundane crafts”, merely copied over and over again by anonymous persons and lacking genuine creativity and imagination. Moreover, traditional image depictions were deemed to be too closely bound up with mundane occupations, religion and everyday life. In recent times, some Western scholars have come round to the view that it is possible to think of a work of art “as communication through subjective intuitive perception only, beyond the evaluative consciousness.” Indeed, in the view of Michael Bockemuhl (2002: 23), “Western aesthetics has a complex history and a conception of art based on aesthetic distance is not wholly typical of the Western attitude to art. Modern art, and concrete art, in

particular, has widened conceptions of art by introducing dimensions that embrace both awareness of aesthetic distance and the possibility of its removal”.

Indeed, earlier on in the 20th century, Franz Boas had drawn the attention of Western art scholars to the fact that there is “fundamental sameness of mental process in all races and all cultural forms so that what is of importance is the specific context-geographical and historical – in which art develops “(Boas, 1927:1). For proper appreciation of, and insight into, non-Western arts, Boas and subsequent art scholars advocated, and engaged in, direct field research using the strategy of participant observation, along with careful probing of the local indigenous context, people, language and cultural traditions.

Thanks to field researches on non-Western arts, including those of Sub-Saharan Africa, in recent times, Western scholars’ thinking regarding non-Western arts have dramatically changed. For instance, in September 1987, in connection with the celebration of the launching of the new National Museum of African Art at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., a symposium was organized on the theme “Africa Art studies-the state of the discipline.” Suzanne Preston Blier, Art Historian of Columbia University, presented a paper entitled “African art studies at the cross-roads—an American perspective.” Blier stated:

“Africa’s most important wealth has always been cultural. Furthermore, culture is in many respects Africa’s most *influential* export. European art would be very different today without the influence of African art. Without the impact of Egypt, a fundamentally African civilization, what direction would Greek art- and subsequently Renaissance art—have taken? Similarly, what would 20th century art have been like without Africa’s contributions to the development of ‘Cubism’ and the other ‘isms’ that soon followed? The artistic richness of Africa is extraordinary. African art is as vital and visually exciting today, a century after colonialism, as it was before the European powers split up the continent. Yet, this very richness is now often undervalued by governments and international organizations” (Blier, 1990:106).

However mind-boggling, it may be to attempt to define “art,” some scholars have ventured suggestions for consideration. One suggestion is that of Adrian Gerbrands (1957:139) who is of the view

that “when a creative individual gives to cultural values a personal interpretation in matter, movement or sound, of such a nature that the forms which result from this creative process comply with standards of beauty valid in his society, then we call this process, and the forms resulting therefrom, art”. Not everyone will accept, lying down, such a definition. Indeed, it may well be argued that art can be expressive, or even useful, without being “beautiful,” as such, and that it may be advisable to replace Gerbrand’s expression “standards of beauty” with “standards of aesthetic.” William Fagg, former Director of London’s British Museum, and a connoisseur of African art, suggesting a similar definition, stated succinctly: “The work of art is the outcome of a dialectic between the informing tradition and the individual genius of the artist” (Barbier – Mueller Museum, 2008:95-101). This means that even though, in theory, it is possible for an artist to create some out-of-the-way innovative art, usually artists develop long-standing motifs and styles and traditional themes and endeavour to use their works to communicate in a “language” that members of the culture understand.

Attempting the definition of the concept of “aesthetic” is no less challenging than that of “art”. Rolling the two concepts together, the art critic, John Dewey asserted: “To be truly artistic, a work of art must also be aesthetic, that is, framed for enjoyed receptive perception the doing or making is artistic, when the perceived result is of a nature that its qualities, as perceived, have controlled the question of production. The artist embodies in himself the attitude of the perceiver while working” (Dewey, 1934). At the 9th Triennial symposium on African art, Simon Ottenberg spoke on “the question of Aesthetic—Forty years of African art studies”. “The question of aesthetic has to do with the appreciation of form and style, and skills behind these, although style and form are difficult to delineate from content and meaning in the ordinary observer’s mind and in that of the performer and producer. To me, aesthetic involves a form of communication different from the ordinary in that it is specifically concerned with linking the levels of the unconscious with the conscious. That is why aesthetic always has emotional content and why we seem to seek aesthetic experiences as we do warmth, liquids, foods and sex, though perhaps, not so consciously” (Ottenberg, 1994).

Ottenberg's view that both intuition and empirical approaches are factors in effective aesthetic studies receives support and confirmation in the writings of Bernadi on the subject of objectivity and subjectivity in aesthetic consideration. The Italian art historian, Bernardo Bernadi in an article entitled "the aesthetic criteria: towards an understanding of African art" (1991: 203-208) noted that in his view the most important criteria for identifying African works of art are not historical, cultural or social but aesthetic, that is, in the form, strength of expression and the beauty in which a force of inspiration is recognized. Bernadi sees aesthetic criteria as the specialized realm of artists and art critics. He distinguishes two groups of criteria for aesthetic evaluation, namely, "quality criteria" and "form criteria." Quality criteria are those that depend almost exclusively on the sensibility and emotion of the observer.

Form criteria, on the other hand, are more objective and depend on the recognition of some definite visual characteristics of the art work including the following:

- Balance| Proportion;
- Style of expression;
- Symmetry about the vertical axis;
- Rhythm and harmony between masses, surfaces and
- Resemblance.

It may not be possible to identify in contemporary languages of Sub-Saharan Africa prehistoric vocabulary that are exact equivalents of the Western term "art". What of indigenous aesthetics? Is it not possible to engage in ethnolinguistic, ethnohistoric, ethnological field researches in "Boasian" style in order to ascertain the prevalence of Sub-Saharan African ethnoaesthetics?

The field researches and publications of Kofi Antubam on Ghana and those of Rowland Abiodun on the Yoruba of Nigeria have clearly shown that the answer is - Yes! (Antubam 1963 Abiodun 1990). Ben-Amos, in a recent study, highlighted the debate among Western art scholars on the issue and pointed to "the absence of a cultural discourse on aesthetics" and the need to research on aesthetic in smaller non-literate societies. Ben Amos enquired - "Do other cultures have an aesthetic? If so, and it is unvoiced, how can we ever hope to

know it?” (Ben-Amos 1989: 31-35). Proceeding to answer her own question, Ben-Amos outlined some findings from a survey of field researches on African aesthetics undertaken by over twenty scholars in the 1940s to 1980s. Some research strategies related to aesthetic evaluation include:

- (a) Use of interviews and observations in which indigenous artists and the like were asked to evaluate photographs or a row of sculptures; from the statements elicited, a series of critical standards on ethnoaesthetics were deduced.
- (b) Probing of social context such as mutual criticism among artists, master to apprentice admonitions, festivals, and commercial transactions involving art work;
- (c) Probing of local languages in search of terms, concepts and words related to what is pleasing, elegant, beautiful etc.
- (d) Probing aspects of tangible and intangible cultural heritage associated with levels of social hierarchy and leadership.

The conclusion drawn from research findings so far is that studies on African aesthetics should include not only formal evaluations and understanding of associated cultural values, but also issues of ethics and ontology and concepts of goodness and of the essential nature of humans and their world (Ben-Amos, 1989:35).

Artistic Representations in Ghana's Archaeological Contexts

The task of seeking an explanation related to materials sourced from prehistoric/historic contexts is regarded by archaeologists and art historians alike as being central to their disciplines (Binford|Renfrew 1983:7; Drewal 1990:39; Gardner 1970:2-4; Panofsky 1955:26-54). A survey of written histories, ethnohistories and ethnographic records attests to the fact that 19th and 20th century ethnics in Ghana were imbued with aesthetic consciousness and “artistic” flair which were manifested in diverse forms of visual, verbal and performance arts (Cole and Ross 1977; Falgayrettes-Leveau and OwusuAnsah 2003). For such relatively recent periods, it is plausible and conceivable to apply art historian Erwin Panofsky's iconography-cum-iconology method of content analysis.

In art history iconography refers to the description of the theme or subject matter related to the icon/image of an art work. Iconology constitutes the analytical study of the icon/image in order to discover its intrinsic meaning. Sir E.H Gombrich observed recently (1972:9) that “Iconology investigates the function of images in allegory and symbolism and their reference to what might be called the invisible world of ideas. The way the language of art refers to the visible world is both so obvious and so mysterious that it is still largely unknown except to the artists themselves who can use it as we all use languages-without needing to know its grammar and semantics”.

The method of iconography/iconology was first formulated by a German art historian, Panofsky (1955).

The method entails the following: Firstly, a detailed examination of documents bearing witness to the political, poetal, religious, philosophical and social tendencies of the personality, of the period or country under investigation. Secondly, the symbolical linkages of the forms in the art work to the tendencies selected from documentary evidence (usually classical Graeco-Roman or Biblical sources). For instance, to understand communications conveyed by images depicted in ecclesiastical glass window, it is necessary to refer to Biblical written sources. In sub Saharan Africa, where ancient archival materials are rare, the application of the iconological method is fraught with difficulties. This is due to problems involved in generating appropriate ethnographic and ethnohistoric data from the culture of origin of particular art works to facilitate identification and interpretation of art motifs. It is however necessary to exercise caution in the use of Panofsky's scheme as it is possible to have variant and divergent meanings for a particular traditional artistic phenomenon (Adams 1989:58, 73).

Data from Prehistoric sites

If ceramic embellishment can be considered as a form of ‘artistic’ representation, then perhaps the earliest production of “art” in Ghana seems to hark back to the 4th millennium B.C. At this time, potters and foragers encamped at Gao Lagoon, Kpone and Bosumpra rock shelter, Abetifi, decorated their wares with elegant geometrical designs that

would resonate well with users or buyers alike (Dombrowski 1977; Shaw 1944). Archaeological studies conducted at various rock shelters and open landscape sites in the Kintampo area, BrongAhafo, show trends of transition in the 2nd millennium B.C from foraging/mobile lifestyle to that of sedentism and limited food production based on exploitation of cowpea, pearl millet, oil palm, goat, cattle, guinea fowl etc. (Stahl 1985). Foragers of the “Punpun phase” at Kintampo produced pottery characterized by incised and mat or cord impressed patterns. The “Kintampo Tradition” cultivators-cum-foragers had versatile potters who were very creative in the way they ornamented their jars, bowls and globular vessels with slip coating, attachments of lugs, handles and knobs, and varied “plastic decorations,” such as comb stamping, comb rockering, and roulette impressions. However, the real novelty in the “Kintampo Tradition” potters’ repertoire was the modeling of stylized terracotta figurines depicting humans and animals (dog, goat, cattle, tortoise, lizard, for instance), that were attached to pot-sides as “decorative art.”

In addition, the “Kintampo Tradition” people (whose sites have been identified and examined in all the major ecological zones of Ghana) produced *objets de parure*, to serve as “body / personal art.” These cultural items of decoration included indigenous beads of stone and shell, stone bracelets, anklets and pendants, lip-plugs etc. What meaning may be attached to this pottery figurine imaging and this personal body ornamental culture that appears in the “Kintampo Tradition” archaeological records? Is it part and parcel of the new emergent village community life, characterized by biodiversity and socialization? And in the absence of written sources and authentic oral tradition for this distant prehistoric period, is there justification for “writing off” these people as totally lacking a sense of aesthetics? Their “aesthetic” may be “unvoiced” in writing or speech but may, nevertheless, be considered as an “archaeologically voiced aesthetic” in my view (For Kintampo Tradition “artistic” aspects, see Anquandah 2008b: 22; Anquandah 1982:62; Posnansky 1979; Stahl 1994:77-78, 1993: 267)

Dangme Decorative Arts

Archaeological studies undertaken in the past three decades at settlement sites of the Dangme Se (Shai) in the East Accra plains have thrown light on some of their artistic traditions (Anquandah 2006, 2007). Firstly, the Se inhabitants of Cherekecherete and Tetedwa Hills in the period AD 1400 -1600 produced wares decorated with modeled human and animal figurines whose meaning cannot be fathomed since oral tradition of the present-day Se people are silent on these ceramics. Secondly, the Se potters of the period AD1600 -1800 are known from oral tradition and also archival records of Basel Missionaries to have been large-scale pottery producers for the entire Accra plains and Akuapem. To authenticate and provide a trade mark for their pots, they stamped or incised a “rising sun” motif on their pots. Examples of this image are attested on 17th – 19th century pots excavated from sites at Akuapem Dawu (Shaw 1961), Wodoku, Ladoku and Hioweyo (Anquandah 1986, 2007). Thirdly, the Se “classic pottery” of the period AD 1600 -1890, includes a unique pot form called *kaduo* which bears a distinctive red linear geometrical painted design. The indigenes state that for a long time the *kaduo* has served as a ritual bath pot for Se traditional priests and priestesses because they are forbidden by their deity to use other “mundane” clay pots or metal buckets for bathing. From the art historic iconological standpoint, it is not enough to just conduct an archaeological typology/classification of this ceramic and leave it at that. It is necessary to take the study to logical conclusion by an enquiry into meaning

Akan Ceramic Arts

Oral traditions related to funerary customs practiced by most Akan-speaking ethnic groups in Ghana have been documented by a number of anthropologists including Rattray (1927), Field (1948), Frimpong (1945), as well as a number of European residents and visitors of pre-colonial Ghana (Barbot 1688:112-113;1732:285; Bosman 1705: 232; Cruickshank 1853 :270 – 271; De Marees 1602:93; Ellis 1881: 321; Mueller 1673 :284; Tschopp 1885 :134; Wild 1934: 1-4). The customs entailed the production by clairvoyant

post-menopausal women artists of surrogate terracotta sculptures known as *Nsodia* for celebrating funeral rites of notables in society on the 40th day after death. The *Nsodia* effigies were accompanied by ritual clan pots, *Abusuakuruwa*, so-called because some contained hair and finger nail clippings of all members of the deceased person's clan. Other pots contained ritual "token" parting meal (yam and palm soup) believed to be shared by clan and deceased.

Apart from royals and notables; commoners in society could be honoured with a clan pot in the course of the funeral rites. To distinguish ritual clan pots from ordinary domestic vessels they were decorated with red, white and black painted designs. The *Nsodia* sculptures were also decorated with polychrome painting and many were naturalistic, symmetrical, and proportionate and though made for a religious function in Western aesthetic terms, they qualified as "fine art." Ellis who encountered some effigies at a shrine at Mankessim noted that "they were exceedingly well made, evidently by a native Phidias, the masterpiece of the whole collection was a divinely – formed figure of a beautiful woman moulded in a most natural manner" (Ellis 1881:321; Garrard 1981). The field researches of Field (1948) and Nunoo (1976) indicate that the Akan believed that during the libation incantations accompanying the commissioning of the commemorative effigy, the soul of the deceased person would enter the effigy and be immortalized as clan "ancestor." Field upon interviewing an Akim Kotoku terracotta sculptor wrote: "The woman potter could allow neither me nor anyone else to see the images being made lest the likeness of the spectator rather than that of the dead person should accidentally get into the image" (Field 1948:44 -45). The 40th day funerary rituals were held at the "place of ceremonies" called *Asensie* or *Mmaaso*. Sculptures and clan pots were left at the *Asensie* site or transferred to a mausoleum.

To throw light on the material contents and spatial arrangements at the typical *Asensie* sites and also to establish their relative chronology, a number of archaeological investigations were conducted by Davies (1956, 1977) at Adanse Ahinsan, by Bellis (1972:195) at Twifo Hemang, at Kwahu Twindorase by Owusu and at Akroso Beposo by Miles (unpublished). On the basis of dateable European imports associated with the sculptures and clan pots, the Ahinsan and Twifo

sites were dated to the 17th / 18th centuries. From studies on ancient Akan effigies held in private and International Museum collections, it appears that effigies differed in style and form from one Akan society to another. For instance, Ashanti and Twifo forms are portraits with round heads. Kwahu forms are stylized portraits with flat discheads and Agona forms are full-bodied and naturalistic (Schaedler 1985). Quarcoopome (2008) distinguishes the ordinary *Abusuakuruwa* clanpot from the “proverb pot” although it is uncertain whether this distinction is based on an emic or etic classification. The “proverb pot” is seen as a symbolic vessel that transmits a philosophical moralistic or religious message within an Akan commemorative ritual context. For instance, the image of a ladder depicted on a “proverb pot” from the Adanse Ahinsan excavations has been linked to the Akan proverb “owu atwede obakofa mfro” (all humans are susceptible to death). A proverb pot excavated from the Twifo Hemang *Asensie* site bears the relief image of “St Andrew’s cross” with knobs at the terminals. A symbol that has been linked to the Akan saying, “onyame bewu namewu” meaning “If God could die, then so would I.” This is a kind of consolation and didactic reference to traditional belief in the immortality of the soul (Anquandah 1982:108).

Akan “Gold weight” Artistic Representations

Brass weights employed by the Akan for determining the value of gold dust in a weighing pan have been unearthed in the course of several archaeological investigations in recent times. For instance, both geometrical and figurative types of gold weight were retrieved from early contexts at Elmina Old Town site (Decorse 2001:129). Others were retrieved from archaeological researches at Twifo Hemang (Bellis 1972: 249) and from Kuulo Kataa Banda (Stahl 2001:139). The Akan are known to have manufactured hundreds of thousands of such weights during the period AD 1200 -1900. The Akan weight system comprising over 60 different weight units evolved through adoption and adaptation of the weights of foreign trading partners such as the Islamic *Mitqal* and *Uqiya*, the Portuguese, Dutch and English weight standards (Garrard 1980). Most were made by the *cire perdue* or lost

wax process although some were also made by hollow and direct casting methods.

Although the weights were prized and appreciated for their embellishments, elegance and aesthetic appeal to the eye, they were basically utilitarian in purpose. However, they had features associated with works of art. The iconography includes Islamic geometrical relief symbolic designs whose meanings are unknown. The figurative weights depict images of equestrians, priests in sacrificial mode, love-makers socializing, herbalists extracting materials from medicinal plants, drummers and trumpeters making music, food plants, diverse animals, scenes of farmers, mothers and children in family life and various cultural objects such as Oware game, Asipim chair, and ancient wartime shields (Garrard 1980, Mcleod 1971). Various gold weight iconologists have suggested that the visual images depicted in the weights may be linked to verbal genre derived from Akan proverbs and sayings called Mmebusem and that they in fact epitomize early Ghanaian didactic symbolism and ethnoaesthetics (Appiah 1995:22; Garrard 1980). A historian, in fact, once suggested that the semiotics related to the geometrical weights may possibly point to the inception of an indigenous Akan “mathematical” System (Niangoran – Bouah 1984 -1987). This may sound somewhat far-fetched but needs further investigation.

Koma Artistic Representations

A number of ancient burial, settlement and “shrine” tumuli sites in the Sisili-Kulpawn basin of Northern Ghana have been investigated by Anquandah (1985, 1998) and more recently by Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan (2008, 2009). The researches show that this region inhabited today by Koma, Bulsa, Sisala and Mamprusi was occupied in antiquity by a people whose highly creative “artists” produced unique picturesque terracotta sculptures. These ubiquitous images are found in various contexts in association with human or animal remains, iron or brass implements and ornaments, grinding stones and, above all, pottery vessels in abundance. Radiocarbon and thermoluminescence age estimations obtained so far range between the 7th century and the 18th century of the Christian era and indicate that the artistic tradition

was probably coterminous with the era of the trans-Saharan traffic (AD 800 -1600) and possibly the trans-Atlantic traffic (AD 1500- 1850). It is likely that the slave raids connected with the latter that may have curtailed the society that developed this cultural tradition. The iconography of the terracotta images include (a) humans characterized by single or multiple heads / faces, (b) humans engaged naturalistically in various activities such as food grinding, “mothering” children, horse/ camel riding, (c) cultural items such as chairs, implements bells, (d) anthropomorphic items and (e) reptiles and animals such as dog, lion, hippopotamus, crocodile, snake etc.

There are no written sources and authentic ethnohistories that can be probed to establish the purpose and meaning of the images. However, some data from Bulsa local history and culture provide some hints and clues for possible elucidation of the artistic tradition. Nevertheless, only very tentative suggestions are possible at this stage of research as only a minute component of the vast number of habitation mounds has been sampled. For instance (a) A number of human sculptures with grave visage have bird wings that seem to suggest flight to the ancestral world which also appear to hint at some form of ancestral cult (Anquandah 1998:134) and (b) Some terracotta images wear a hat or helmet decorated with cowry shells (Anquandah 1998: 48 fig. 45). Modern Bulsa male elders wear such cowriform calabash helmets (Anquandah 1998: 46-47).

On the occasion of a traditional marriage ceremony, a Bulsa mother presents to her daughter a bridal fertility gift in the form of a cowriform calabash helmet. This is meant to be filled with shea nut oil and used for bed-time massage of the husband. The cowry image is associated with female genitalia and symbolizes fertility and prosperity. Oral tradition related to the *Zuk-chin* calabash helmet trait was documented separately by Roland Apentiik during interviews conducted at Sandema in 1991. Anquandah also had interviews with a Bulsa elder, Akanmori (Anquandah 2003). (c) Koma human terracotta images depict motifs of a half-moon necklace. In present-day Buluk, there is an ethnographic equivalent of a crescentic necklace called *chiik* worn as an amulet to attract good fortune. (d) One terracotta sculpture depicts a group of bearded men bound with chains. One wonders

whether the artist had in mind the nightmare of the notorious slave raids unleashed on the Sisili-Kulpawn basin populace in historic times (Anquandah 1998: 161). (e) There are also striking terracotta depictions of lavishly – dressed horse and camel riders which seem to allude to wealth that may have been accrued by the “Koma tradition” people as a result of their connections with long-distance trade networks (Anquandah 1985: 26 – 27, 1998:80 – 81).

It is most interesting that the Koma art tradition has been accorded good rating for its aesthetic qualities. Evaluations of the following Western art critics testify this assertion. For example, Schaedler (1987) wrote of ingenious, admirable forceful expressiveness-- breathtaking figures with extraordinary power beauty and austerity which cannot be compared with any other culture. Detavernier (1990:27) wrote of “a new and unique aesthetic current characterized by the exquisite portrayal in the clay medium of a complex of geometrical forms and motifs– cones, pyramids, cuboids, cylinders, triangles and circles – in a way that is unparalleled in any other culture or civilization in West Africa.” Silverman asserted (2002) that “the cast bronze helmet,

perhaps a skeuomorph for a cowrie-studded gourd helmet (zuk – chin) used by the Bulsa people of Northern Ghana reveals a remarkable sensitivity to the interaction of abstract form and texture. Geometry predominates. The helmet is a hemisphere. Triangles, circles, and straight lines in relief adorn its surface. Representational imagery is reduced to basic geometric form – each of the strings of cowry shells that divide the helmet’s surface into quadrants is tendered as opposing triangles “(Anquandah in Bravmann and Phillips 1995 :516; Horstmann 2002 :74 – 75)

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has shown that African culture, past and present, does manifest what one would, for want of local African terminology, call “design, aesthetic or artistic consciousness.” It is evident that while Westerners would view “art” as a separate entity, something that is presented for appreciation at an art gallery

exhibition, in the African context, by and large, the aesthetic and functional aspects are intertwined. As such, the “artistic” aspect of African culture must be analysed in terms of roles within the specific societal context, whether prehistoric or historic, or whether having Akan, Dangme, Koma or Ewe ethnicity.

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Chapter 12

A Study of the Akan and Ewe Kente Weaving Traditions: Implications for the Establishment of a Kente Museum in Ghana.

Kennedy Atsutse and Wazi Apoh

Introduction

Kente is the name given to the heavy fabric woven with colorful silk, cotton yarn or rayon on a loom. It is an indigenous Ghanaian textile which has become a symbol of national identity. As an icon of Africa's rich cultural heritage, kente expresses a Pan-African identity to individuals who use it, both on the African continent and elsewhere in the Diaspora. Ross (1998) writes that the kente cloth is a significant marker of prestige and social status. With its elaborate weft designs and patterns, Kente is worn even by people who do not have any close relationship with Ghana or the African continent. As part of the social lifeways of Ghanaians, kente is used on special occasions to mark ceremonies. African-Americans identify themselves with the kente cloth and project it as the major fabric during the celebration of their annual *Kwanzaa* event (Ross 1998).

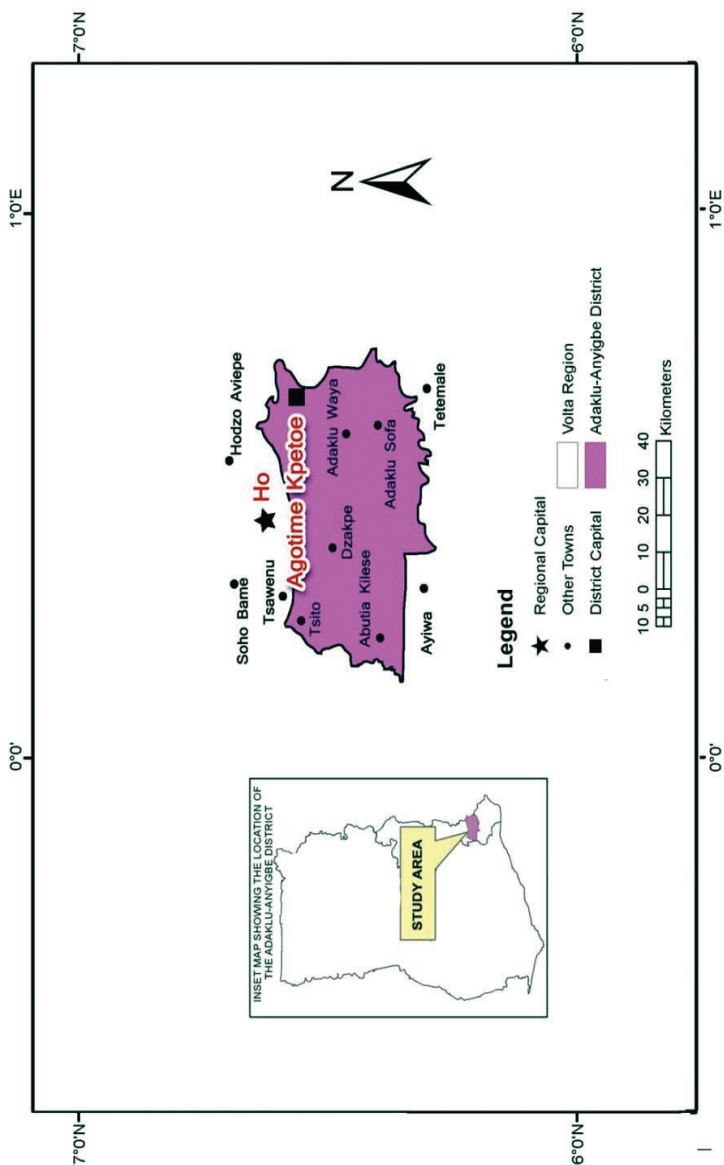
The study of textiles and indigenous weaving technology in West Africa is very relevant in the understanding of the socio-economic and political importance of textiles as it pertains to the expression of "hierarchy and difference, honor, and respectability as well as how it translates genealogies into forms of political and religious authority" (Buggenhagen 2007). Irrespective of the transient fragile quality of textiles in terms of their inability to preserve well in the archaeological record, they nevertheless convey social history and reveal the durability and discontinuities of the human experience and historical agency. This is especially true when textiles are sighted through the processes of social production, hierarchy or formation of status distinction as well as the reinforcement of individual and collective identities in the West African context. Some scholars have opined that the socio-spatial intricacies of textile fabrication is often revealed in the varied ways in

which they are spun, woven, dyed, sewed, and embroidered across space (Gillow 200; Kriger 2006; Weiner and Schneider 1989).

There are two major types of kente in Ghana; the Akan and Ewe kente. A similar fabric is woven in the northern regions of Ghana, but this variety does not possess intricate motifs reminiscent in the kente designs of the southern regions of Ghana. Akan kente is mostly woven by the people of Bonwire in the Ashanti Region, and the Ewe variety is mostly done by the people of Agotime-Kpetoe in the Volta Region (Adler 1995; Asamoah-Yaw 1994; Fianu 2007; Ofori 1993). Other towns like Agbozume, south of Agotime also do some weaving but it is not as extensive as that of the Agotime people. Originally, Kente was a preserve of royals and those in high authority, especially in the Akan areas of Ghana. However, with time, it has become a fabric that anybody could purchase, provided the fellow could afford it. The current spate of technological advancement has also enabled the printing of kente by some textile printing firms. In such cases, kente fabrics are printed outside Ghana, imported into the country and sold at lower prices. Many people seem to prefer such kente cloths to the originally woven ones. Unfortunately, this attitude is becoming detrimental to the growth of the indigenous kente weaving industry.

Though a number of research works have been done on the origin, types of materials and equipment, technique of weaving, functions and variety of kente designs (see Ahiagble 2004; Ross 1998), no researcher has deliberated on the establishment of a kente museum in Ghana. This paper among many other issues, seeks to make a case for the establishment of a kente museum in Ghana. Museums, as defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), are social institutions that serve as a public trustee, and are tasked to acquire, preserve and exhibit the cultural heritage materials of a given society for the purposes of study, education and enjoyment (ICOM 2006). In this regard, this paper draws attention to the need to document earlier or old kente designs vis-à-vis new patterns through the selection of unique prototypes from the Akan and Ewe weaving traditions for exhibition and conservation in a kente museum. This endeavor could in the long run establish pertinent ways of conserving the kente fabric and preserve this rich cultural heritage of Ghana.

The Study Areas of Agotime-Kpetoe and Bonwire



Map.12.1 Map of Agotime-Kpetoe in the Volta Region of Ghana

Agotime-Kpetoe (Map 12.1) is the capital of the newly created district called Adaklu-Anyigbe which was carved out of the then Ho District. It is the cradle of Ewe kente, where the weaving tradition has been and is still being practiced. The people of Agotime originally speak the Ada language, but as a result of being assimilated by the dominant Ewe speakers in the Ho and Togo areas, the Ewe language has taken over the Ada language. Nonetheless, Agotime citizens bear Ga-Adangbe names, like Tetteh, Narteh, Nartey, Kabuki, Dede, Teye, Narki and Korkor. Chiefs also use titles such as *Nene* and *Asafoatse*, just like the Ada people (interview with Nene Keteku III, the paramount chief of Agotime, 14/06/10). During the plebiscite of 1956 in the Gold Coast, part of the Agotime people in the Trans-Volta Togoland, like Agotime-Afegame and other sub towns, were partitioned into the then French Togoland. This accounts for the reason why some Agotime towns are presently in the Republic of Togo.



Fig 12.1: *tugbe fia*

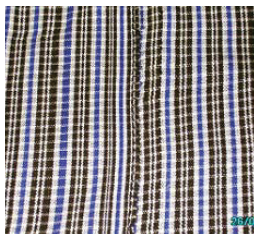


Fig 12.2: *haliwoe*

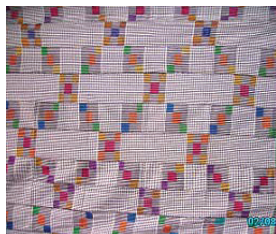
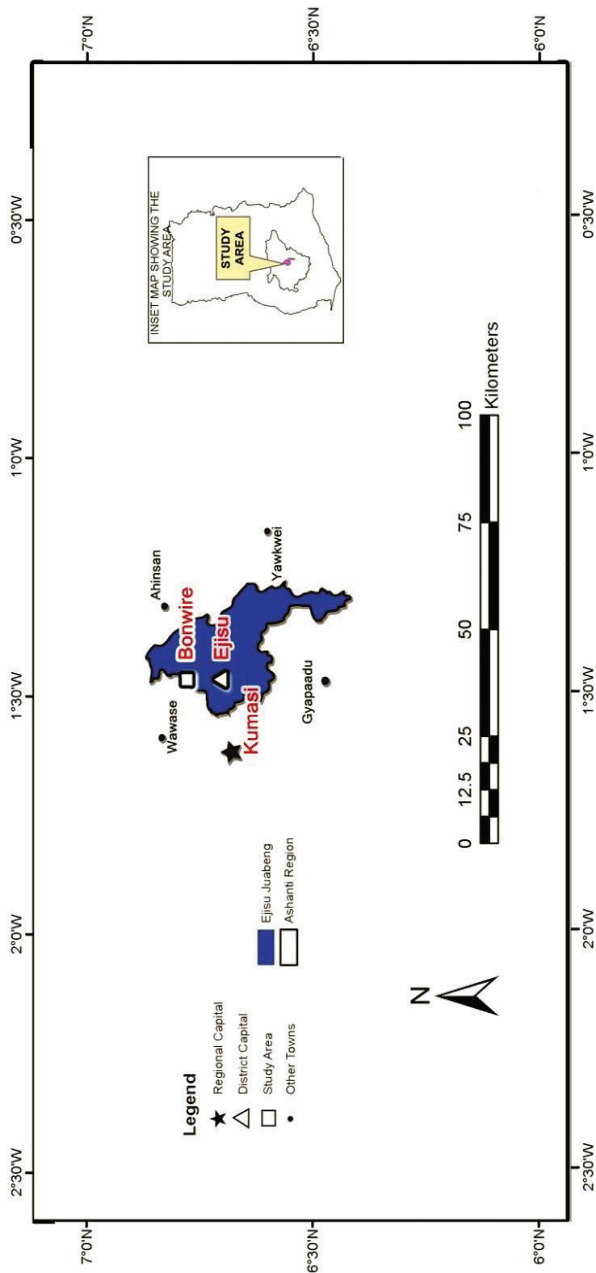


Fig 12.3: *fiawo yome*

Kente weaving is the number one cultural heritage or vocation of the people of Agotime. In the local parlance, the cloth is called “*agbamevo*,” which translates, “*cloth from the loom*.” In Agotime, kente cloths such as “*tugbe fia*” (Fig. 12.1), “*haliwoe*” (Fig. 12.2), and “*fiawo yome*” (Fig. 12.3) are woven to serve a variety of purposes during religious rituals, marriage ceremonies, burials, puberty rites, meetings and other social functions. Apart from weaving, the people also engage in subsistence farming. This is mostly done by the women since the men do a greater part of the weaving. Woven kente cloths are mostly traded by women or wives of the weavers. At times, the men themselves carry the kente cloths outside Agotime to sell. Looms are present in almost every house, and children, especially the male ones, start practicing the art

at very tender ages. Tourists also visit the town; either to purchase kente, learn weaving or to celebrate the annual kente festival.

Bonwire, the cradle of Akan kente tradition is located in the Ejisu-Juaben municipality of the Ashanti Region of Ghana (Map 12.2). The town is noted for its booming kente weaving industry and cultural heritage. According to oral accounts, the weavers of Bonwire have been practicing kente weaving for about five centuries now (they celebrated 500 years of kente weaving in 2009). They believe that the art evolved from a simple weaving technique into a more sophisticated and elaborate one. Earlier woven cloths such as the “*gagamuga*” and “*asaasetoma*” (Fig 12.4) were woven for household use by individuals. However, the more elaborate kente, with its intricate weft designs was adopted by the Asantehene as a royal art. Weaving is practiced in the open by individuals who want to weave. Looms are present in almost every household in Bonwire and kids between the ages of three and five start practicing with the “*asaasetoma*,” i.e. cloth woven on the ground. In Bonwire, the weavers are always experimenting to find unique designs for the Asantehene. Apart from the paramount chief, there is a chief weaver who is in charge of kente weaving. He is a very skillful kente weaver and sees to the production of new designs for the Asantehene.



Map 12.2. Bonwire

Figure 5: Map of Bonwire in the Asante Region of Ghana

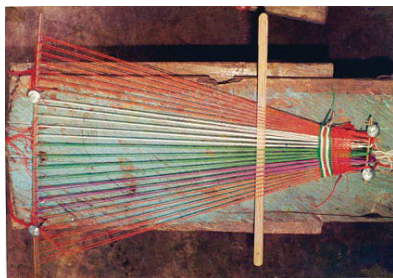


Fig 12.4: Model of Asasetoma of the Bonwire Weavers



Fig 12.5: Asasia cloth

Kente Weaving in Ghana: the Origins and Production Processes

The earliest known evidence of textile weaving in West Africa is that of the indigo-dyed, warp and weft-checker-patterned cotton cloth. About 150 fragments of this textile have been recovered from the Tellem caves in the Bandiagara Scarp (where the “Dogon” now live) in Mali (Cole and Ross 1977). These have been radiocarbon dated to around AD 1000-1200. In present day Ghana, archaeologists have dated textiles and associated finds in the Begho area to the 16th century AD (Cole and Ross 1977). Spindle whorls have been excavated in a number of archaeological sites around Ghana to provide evidence of their use in spinning cotton into yarns. The Mali textile finds tend to establish the fact that strip weaving technology in the Niger Bend area has been in existence several centuries before it was introduced into Ghana. Ross (1998) writes that the highly skilled Fulani weavers are thought to have been instrumental in the diffusion of loom technology along the trade routes of West Africa.

Travelers to the Gold Coast during the 18th and 19th centuries made mention of woven fabrics they encountered in their Traveler’s Accounts. L. F. Romer and T. E Bowdich who visited Ashanti in the 1730s and 1817 respectively wrote that Asante chiefs bought European silk-wear in large quantities and the silk was unraveled and woven together with cotton threads (Bowdich 1819; Romer 1760/1965,). Thus,

multi-colored kente was associated with the royal courts. At the top of the hierarchy of Asante weaving is a type of kente which is exclusive to the Asantehene and his family; although these cloths were sometimes presented to the other chiefs for services rendered the Golden Stool. This royal weave, called “*asasia*” (Fig 12.5) is woven with three pairs of heddles in secrecy by the chief of Bonwire for the Asantehene and his court (Ross 1998). According to Rattray (1927), the king of the Asante people in the olden days possessed the copyright of all new designs, which he could either reserve for himself or award to great men or women in the kingdom.

Ewe weavers have been noted to dwell much on cotton weaving, whilst their Akan counterparts are noted to use cotton yarns and silk. Ross and Cole (1977) wrote that Ewe weaving may have evolved separately and may have been influenced by sources different from those affecting the Akan. Though contacts have existed between the Ewe and Akan textile areas for centuries, there is no reason to believe that one tradition was born of the other. Before the advent of weaving in the Ewe area, the Agotime-Kpetoe weavers revealed that the bark of the “*logo*” tree was stripped off in bands, softened in water and beaten to produce a cloth locally called “*logobo*” (interview with Agotime weavers, 05/06/10). There is also a similar tradition with the Akan speaking people. The Akans, especially the Asante, are known to have processed the bark of a tree called “*nkyenkyen*” into cloth before the advent of weaving in their area (Rattray 1927). The bark of the tree was stripped off in narrow pieces and placed in water to soften after which they are beaten on flat surfaces (most often on cut tree trunks) with wooden mallets to soften and expand the cloth. They are then dried in the sun (Rattray 1927).

According to the Spider Myth espoused by the Akan weavers, the Akan kente weaving originated and was inspired by the way a spider wove its web. They claim that the weaving evolved from ‘*ayaasentoma*’, to ‘*asaasentoma*’ and finally into ‘*nsaduaso*,’ which is the modern kente. “*Ayaasentoma*” was woven with raffia threads (Interview with Safo Kantanka, 10/05/10). It is done in between the stretched legs of a weaver. A thread is passed from one toe to the other and then fastened to the waist. Subsequent threads are then passed repeatedly through

the set warp from the toes upwards until the required size of cloth is obtained. “*Asaasentoma*” is always woven on the ground. Three sticks are nailed to the ground in the form of an equilateral triangle. Raffia threads are tied around the pegs to form a triangular warp. Weft threads are then repeatedly passed through the warp on the ground to weave ‘*asaasentoma*.’ The “*asaasentoma*” and “*ayaasentoma*” template serve as the basis for training children to learn the art of weaving. They are then allowed to experiment with the loom after they master the basics.

The loom (“*nsadua*”) is viewed as one of the highest levels of Asante ingenuity. This stems from the fact that it evolved from the “*asaasetoma*” and “*ayaasetoma*” templates. The loom is a wooden structure on which kente is woven. The ‘*gagamuga*’ is noted by the Bonwire people as the first type of loom-woven-cloth. This was woven with raffia before “*nsaa*” (silk cotton) was used. “*Nsaa*” is believed to have emanated from Salaga in Northern Ghana. Prior to the 20th century, most of the northern vassal states of the Asante Kingdom were expected to provide bundles of the “*Nsaa*” and other items to the Asantehene as annual tributes (interview with Safo-Kantanka 10/05/10). European garments brought into the Gold Coast around the 16th century also fostered the evolution of the weaving technique. Such silk garments were unraveled especially by women for weaving purposes. Some kente cloths at the time were entirely woven with such silk threads. Rayon was recently introduced in the weaving of kente in both traditions.

According to the Agotime weavers, the first woven cloth called “*atsatsa*” was done on the bare ground. “*Atsatsa*,” in the Ewe language actually refers to the cotton threads (or dried reeds) used to weave basic patterns on pegs arranged in a square form. This kind of weaving was practiced in Agotime until the loom was discovered. The loom is locally called “*agbati*” in the Agotime-Kpetoe area. The first cloths woven on it were plain cotton strips without designs. Generally, cloths woven on the loom is known as “*agbamevo*.” Such early cloths were first woven in black and white colours. The white cotton thread was often dyed into black before weaving. According to the paramount chief, this was what they practiced from the 13th century until the Germans introduced European clothing, refined cotton thread, silk and other

products into the area (interview with Nene Keteku III 14/06/10). The Agotime people adopted the refined cotton threads and wove them into cloths which they call “vuse.” As time went by, they wove cloths with more elaborate and sophisticated patterns.

In the past, most weaving tools, especially the loom and its parts, were manufactured by the weavers themselves. However, since well-made looms made by professional carpenters are now readily available in shops, weavers prefer to purchase them rather than waste time on making their own. Weaving with the loom requires a lot of skills and patience. One or more shuttles could be used to weave alternating design patterns. This is because each shuttle is crafted to contain only one colour at a time. The main design of the cloth is often restricted to the middle of the strip.

Agotime weavers claim they use cotton threads in weaving more than the Asante weavers do. This is because cotton yarn is relatively cheaper. They normally wash the cotton threads with starch before using them to weave. This is done to strengthen the cotton threads. Cotton is mostly used to weave plain kente. According to the weavers, kente interlaced with geometric motifs is mostly done with rayon. Agotime weavers have invented a contraption at the base of the loom which they call “gear.” This “gear” is pressed simultaneously with the treadles to open the shed for the shuttle to be passed through. This interesting innovation has replaced the work of the swordstick, which was used to keep warps apart when more complex patterns are being inserted into the fabric.

In both Akan and Ewe weaving traditions, there are three methods (viz. single, double and triple) of weaving. The single weaving (also called plain weaving), i.e. “*ahwepan*” in Asante Twi, is normally done with a monochrome thread and with two heddles (a pair). This thread is often woven plainly without any designs to form the background. Sometimes polychrome threads could be combined to do the single weaving. Double weaving is done with four heddles (two pairs). Kente cloths that are woven with this method are patterned with designs in them and they normally take 2-3 months to complete (interview with Bonwire weavers, 08/05/10). Generally, a design is known as ‘*adwene*’ in Akan so kente cloths woven with the double style of weaving are

usually called “*adweneasa*.” Also, designs that do not have names, or are yet to be named are generally referred to as “*adweneasa*” cloths.

Triple weaving mostly employs six heddles (three pairs), though in some cases, five heddles are used. Kente woven with this method is called “*adwene si adweneso*” in Akan, to wit “*design upon design*.” With this method of weaving, the plain background colours of the cloth are not visible at all since the cloth is riddled with designs. This method of weaving requires a high level of craftsmanship, and since only few people know how to weave with five or six heddles, they are given the privilege to weave for the Asantehene. The weavers of this kind of kente, also called “*asasia*,” (refer to Fig 12.5) do this in secrecy. At the time of this research, only three men in Bonwire could weave the “*asasia*” type of kente. The Bonwire weavers asserted that it was one Nana Tiko from the Assin clan who introduced the six-heddle method of weaving in the 1900s, and later, Kwame Duodu, from the Aduana clan introduced the five heddle style (interview with Safo Kantanka, 10/05/10). The weaving of “*asasia*” cloths takes relatively longer time (about a year) to finish (interview with Bonwire weavers 08/05/10).

According to Nene Keteku III of Agotime, his grandfather used to travel to Akwapim to sell kente during the 19th century. As woven cloths are highly revered in Akanland, Ewe kente cloths sell for a relatively better price. Presently, weavers of the two traditions claim there is a cordial relationship between them, so both traditions exchange ideas and they even weave similar design elements. The Anlo, down south, mostly do plain weaving, and they are very good at weaving objects (zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements) in kente to communicate specific messages.

Discussion

A holistic look at the Akan and Ewe weaving traditions and their products indicates many similarities than differences. The people of Bonwire and Agotime as well as kente enthusiasts like African Americans, view kente weaving as a means of social reproduction. This is because the praxis of weaving forms part of the process involved in sustaining such a cultural tradition over a period of time. The various symbols and patterns woven into kente are people’s perceptions of

tangible and intangible things in their environment and cosmology. The production of such sophisticated and elaborate designs are intended to give meaning to their cognitive or thought processes which are often inspired by their cultural milieu and cosmology. (See Anquandah, this volume). Aristotle agreed that art is an imitation of a reality, and that these imitations arouse certain emotions that can be beneficial and give insight into humans and their worlds (Velasquez 2008). Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), an Italian philosopher, sees art as *intuitive knowledge*. This *intuitive knowledge* is what the artist gets from his imagination, and it is that which leads him to produce images that express his feelings and impressions.

Currently, both the Akan and Ewe kente traditions weave similar design patterns and sometimes it becomes difficult to ascertain whether a particular kente design belongs to the Akan or Ewe weaving traditions. Nonetheless, the issue of the origins of kente weaving is still a controversial one. Looking at the oral history concerning the origin of Akan kente, it would be noticed that the Asante portray their weaving tradition as very indigenous to them, and that they did not learn it from anywhere. The Spider Myth, which they allude to, seem to justify their essentialist claim to the fact that the art of weaving was a natural phenomenon that they embody. Though we can relatively equate a spider's web to the "*asaasetoma*" and "*ayaasetoma*" of the people of Bonwire (which serves as the basis to the art of weaving), the sudden development of weaving from these methods to weaving with the loom is rather not clear.

The Agotime people also see their weaving tradition as an indigenous development. They state in their oral tradition that they migrated with the weaving tradition from somewhere else to their present location. This is possible in view of the fact that the people of Agotime migrated from the Ga-Adangme area to mix with the Ewe. According to Rattray (1927), the Asante people claim that they learnt the art of weaving about the time of Asantehene Oti Akenten, in the 17th century. If this assertion is factual, then by juxtaposing it with the discovery of woven textiles in the Tellem caves in Mali, which has been dated to the 11th century AD, it is evident that weaving practices in 'Akanland' were rather a later development. Archaeologists have also dated earlier textile finds in the Begho area of the

Brong Ahafo Region to the 16th century AD (Ross and Cole 1974). In view of these documentations, it is possible to say that the source of the two weaving traditions have a probable northern source.

According to the Bonwire weavers, kente was adopted as a royal art in Asante. This was so because of the high premium the Akan placed on the Asantehene. Thus any new development (or any newly discovered thing in the Asante kingdom) has to be first taken or shown to the Asantehene. This therefore accounts for the reason why the Asantehene decided to adopt the art; because it was very phenomenal. He had weavers in his court who wove for him. Kente weaving in Agotime is not rooted in a court or royalty. The weavers weave for their personal usage and clients. Designs were created and given names by their originators. Among the Asante, exclusive designs created earlier were named either by the Asantehene or by other chiefs. Nevertheless, both Bonwire and Agotime weavers weave by means of the three methods; single weave, double weave and triple weave. It is however interesting to note that in both traditions, folks who are able to employ three heddles to weave (triple weaving) are very few. This is so because the triple weaving method is quite difficult. It is also carried out in secrecy, and the weavers who employ this method feel reluctant to teach others because kente cloths woven with this method are very expensive as well.

In the past, the drawing of objects in kente was done excellently by the weavers of Agotime. The weavers claim they learnt this from the people of Agbozume, further south in Anlo lands. This people normally do plain weaving with drawings of various objects; to tell certain stories. Lettering in kente is also done by the weavers of Agotime. Over time, some of the Bonwire weavers learnt to weave this style from the Agotime weavers. The blend of colours in kente patterns is unique, with each having its significance. According to the Bonwire weavers, the yellow colour symbolizes sanctity, royalty, preciousness, wealth, spiritual vitality and fertility. Pink is associated with the female essence of life, and it symbolizes tenderness, calmness, pleasantness and sweetness. Red is associated with blood, and it symbolizes a sense of seriousness. Most sacrificial rites are marked with the red colour, and it also plays a role in political moods. Green symbolizes

growth, vitality, fertility, prosperity, fruitfulness, abundance, health and spiritual rejuvenation. Gold derives its significance from the social prestige associated with the precious mineral. It symbolizes royalty, wealth, elegance, high status, supreme quality, glory and spiritual purity. There are a host of other colours which have their non-verbal expressions in kente colour cosmology.

The tools and equipment used in the kente production process of both the Akan and Ewe weaving traditions are virtually the same. The processes of spinning threads and warp laying are the same. The length and breadth of each woven kente strip is the same; meaning that the size of the beater used by both the Akan and Ewe weavers is the same. However, the art of weaving varies slightly. The weavers in Bonwire use the swordstick during weaving to separate the warp when incorporating designs. Considerable time elapses during the adjustment of the swordstick (in Bonwire). On the contrary, the weavers in Agotime have innovated and created what they call the “gear” (two pedals with strings connected to the heddles). This “gear” is simultaneously engaged with the treadles to open the warp for the shuttle to be passed through. As a result of this innovation, the weavers of Agotime seem to weave a bit faster vis-à-vis their Bonwire counterparts. The date for its invention is however unknown.

Previously in Bonwire, women were prevented from engaging in weaving. The loom was deified, and due to the fact that women menstruate, they were seen as a menace to the sanctity of the loom (Ahiagble 2004). Women in their menstrual periods were not even allowed to address their husbands when they were on the loom (Rattray 1927). The women were told that they would not be able to give birth if they engaged in the art of weaving. But in recent times, because the loom is no more regarded as a deity; probably due to Christianity, women are now allowed to weave. They often do this competitively with the men. Weaving competitions are now being organized for the women as well. Previously in Agotime, women were allowed to weave only if they were not in their menstrual period. They were also allowed to help the men in preparing materials required for weaving. Today, women are free to weave kente even in their menstrual periods. The loom is no more regarded as sacred, and women weave in competition with the men.

Kente is continually used as a fabric to mark festivities in both the Ashanti and Volta Regions of Ghana, and other places as well (Fianu and Asante 1999). With each passing day, new designs are being manufactured by kente weavers. But in actual fact, the designs are already existing ones which are merely improved upon. In most cases, so-called new patterns which culminate in new names being assigned to the kente cloths are old designs that are re-arranged. Designs from different patterns are handpicked and brought together to form new patterns. In recent times, it is interesting to note that the specific festivities or purposes for which some kente cloths are designed to serve are not being strictly adhered to. In Agotime for example, certain kente cloths meant for puberty rites, like “*tugbefia*” are now used by people to mark other ceremonies. For most people, having one kente piece is good enough, and they often use it for any occasion since they do not really care about the specific function or meaning of the cloth. Furthermore, as new designed patterns are created every day, there are many kente cloths on the market which do not have names. Weavers just produce for the market without bothering to name the kente. On the other hand, it is the elderly (those above 50 years) who order and wear kente with the meaning of the designs being of much concern to them (interview with Bonwire weavers, 08/05/10). Some connoisseurs of kente also place orders for customized kente designs which they name. Some examples of such designs include *Limann* (Fig 12.6) and *Addo Kuffour* (Fig 12.7). Dr. Hilla Limann was a onetime President of the Republic of Ghana and Addo Kuffuor was also a Minister of Defence in the Republic of Ghana.



Fig 12.6: The *Limann* pattern

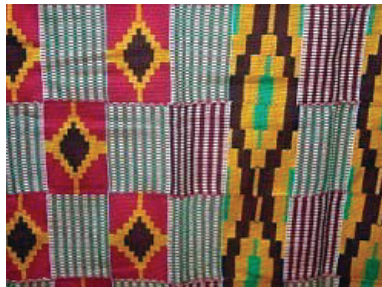


Fig 12.7: The *Addo Kuffuor* pattern

Making the Case for the Establishment of a Kente Museum at Akosombo, Ghana.

A museum is a non-profit making heritage institution opened to the public. It acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage remains for purposes of study, education and enjoyment (ICOM 2006). First of all the art of weaving represents a masterpiece of human creativity and bears a unique testimony to a civilization and cultural tradition which is still living. It is tangibly associated with events, ideas, beliefs and artistry of universal significance (Aplin 2002). The call for the establishment of a Kente museum in Ghana is long overdue since it is an important cultural heritage of the people of Ghana that has to be productively regulated. Kente has become a symbol of Ghanaian national identity and an African American heritage. Non-African kente enthusiasts also endeavor to appreciate kente as an important black achievement that portrays the Ghanaian or African identity. In view of this, it will be a laudable endeavour to establish a kente museum that will serve the need of all kente enthusiasts.

The museum would serve as a repository of kente and a place where kente weavers would operate as a unified body. The proposed museum could have a section or workshop manned by master kente weavers who can weave out unique patterns for the museum and coach interested patrons to learn the art of weaving as well. A section could also feature a write-up on the origin and history of kente. Classic kente designs and new designs that are created in both traditions could be handpicked, documented, conserved and exhibited in the museum. For example the “*kyenkyen*” and “*Logobo*” cloths, which preceded kente, could be in this museum. These cloths and the first ever woven kente, which is the “*gagamuga*”, could be acquired from collections in old palaces, and from kente collectors. Models of “*asaasetoma*” and “*ayaasetoma*” could also be exhibited as classic designs.

A speech delivered on behalf of the paramount chief of Agotime, Nene Nuer Keteku III during the launch of the 2010 Kente festival, “*agbamevoza*” of the people of Agotime-Kpetoe in the Volta Region, revealed that as a result of the development of new motifs and designs,

there is a large body of old motifs and aesthetic designs that had been left behind and forgotten by the majority of weavers. There is therefore the need for the old designs to be documented and preserved for posterity.

A showcase of kente, spanning the various periods needs to be nicely delineated in this museum, where we would see raffia woven, cotton woven, silk woven, rayon woven, cotton-rayon woven, and cotton-satin woven pieces. A collection of Kente with geometric motifs and drawn objects, and their names and meaning could be showcased as well. Furthermore, a collection of Kente from the Akan and Ewe traditions could be separately exhibited for visitors to see the differences and similarities of these traditions. All other unique prototypes of kente designs are eligible to be selected for this museum. The arrangement in this museum needs to be done in such a way that the evolution of kente as well as the various weaving methods (i.e., single weave, double and triple weaves) would be clearly visible. Housing such kente prototypes in one building would present an atmosphere and opportunity for people to come and study, appreciate and review the kente traditions and designs of Ghana. The museum, in addition to serving the purposes of conservation, research, education and enjoyment, would go a long way to bring the kente weaving industry in Ghana under one umbrella. This museum would serve as a mouthpiece for the kente weaving industry. It could trumpet some of the challenges of the industry and suggest possible solutions to the government.

Increasingly, Ghanaian kente designs are being appropriated and printed on other types of fabric (e.g., wax print) in European and Asian countries and produced on mass scale for sale without any benefit to the original creators of the designs. During the launch of the 2010 Kente festival, “*agbamevoza*” of the people of Agotime-Kpetoe in the Volta Region for instance, Mrs. Juliana Azumah-Mensah, the then Minister of Women and Children’s Affairs called for the declaration of Kente as a national heritage. She said the commercial reproduction of the traditional Kente fabric by pirates is undermining the creativity of local artisans who needed to be protected. In view of this, there is the need for patent rights to be granted to kente weavers by the

government. This would empower the weavers, because permission would now be obtained from them before any reproduction of their designs is done. A museum of this nature will serve as a credible institution that will oversee the registration and patenting of all created kente designs. Such a move would protect the intellectual property rights of these artisans. In addition, the role of the museum in this process will create another source of income to the museum and the weavers, as they would charge fees before allowing anybody to reprint their designs. A kente museum in Ghana would also promote tourism, with its many advantages (i.e., culture exchange, foreign exchange, investments, employment etc.).

We are of the view that this proposed kente museum should be sited at Akosombo in the Eastern Region of Ghana because it serves as a neutral ground to the Bonwire and Agotime weaving towns. We perceive that there would be some agitations from either of the source regions if the museum is sited in an opposing source region. Strategically speaking, Akosombo is an ideal location because of its tourism attractions and potential. Akosombo is about one and a half hours drive from Accra, and tourists visiting Ghana would find it much easier getting to this town because of the good first class road it offers. Along the way is the Shai Hills; which is a wildlife sanctuary with diverse kinds of animals in addition to the Krobo hill archaeological sites. Other attractions in Akosombo include; the Volta Lake, one of the largest man-made lakes in the world and the Adomi Bridge; the only bridge of its kind across the Volta River. The Akosombo dam built on the Volta River currently supplies hydro-electric power to the whole of Ghana and to its neighbours. Dodi Island is a picturesque island on the Volta Lake with unique flora and fauna and can be accessed through a cruise on the *Dodi Princess*. The shores of the lake offer green undulating topography for hiking adventure. Unique bays along the Volta also offer avenues for boat rides and water sports. A number of good hotels and restaurants also dot the scenic landscape. A complementary archaeological tourist site at Adome-Atimpoku also provides evidence of an ancient ironworking site (Gavua and Apoh 2011) that has been carbon dated to the 4th-6th century AD.

Thus, a kente museum in Akosombo would add value to the tourism potential of the Akosombo area and complement the other attractions in the area. This call for the establishment of a kente museum can be put into operation by the government of Ghana, a private organization or it can be a public-private initiative with an

eclectic management strategy. Furthermore, the museum could be manned by a blend of stakeholders; notably, museum technocrats, weavers and textile experts, anthropologists, archaeologists, kente cooperative bodies and guilds, administrators and specialists in heritage management.

Conclusion

Though many researchers have addressed issues pertaining to kente; especially, its origin, the various kinds of kente manufactured, design elements and their meanings as well as functions of the cloth, this research has been more revealing. In addition to enhancing knowledge on social production and historical agency in the kente material and visual culture, it has been able to compare the two kente weaving traditions in Ghana. Above all, the authors have made a productive case for the establishment of a kente museum in Ghana in order to moderate the commodification and commercialization of the intellectual property rights of the indigenous weavers. Kente cloths or other products derived from the Akan and the Ewe kente traditions of Ghana have become a unique heritage of Ghana yet they stand a chance of being appropriated and misused in different contexts. As a one-stop-shop, the kente museum could provide an avenue where tangible and intangible evidence can be obtained on the origins, nature of old/new designs, meanings and significance of the kente heritage to Africans on the continent, those in the Diaspora and to all kente enthusiasts. We are of the view that such a sustainable management strategy executed through the implementation of a kente museum in Ghana would assert the role of African ingenuity in transforming the stereotypical view of Africa for the better.

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Chapter 13

The Archaeology of Rituals and Religions in Northern Ghana

Timothy Insoll and Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng

Introduction

The archaeology of Northern Ghana remains comparatively little investigated (*cf.* Anquandah 1982; Insoll 2008a; Stahl 1994), but research completed indicates a complex and diverse range of religious beliefs and ritual practices existed in the past two millennia. Archaeologically, world religions are represented both by Islam in restricted contexts from the fifteenth century AD (Insoll 2003), and by Christianity from the late nineteenth century. Islamic archaeology is considered below, but Christianity remains unexplored in its archaeological dimension.

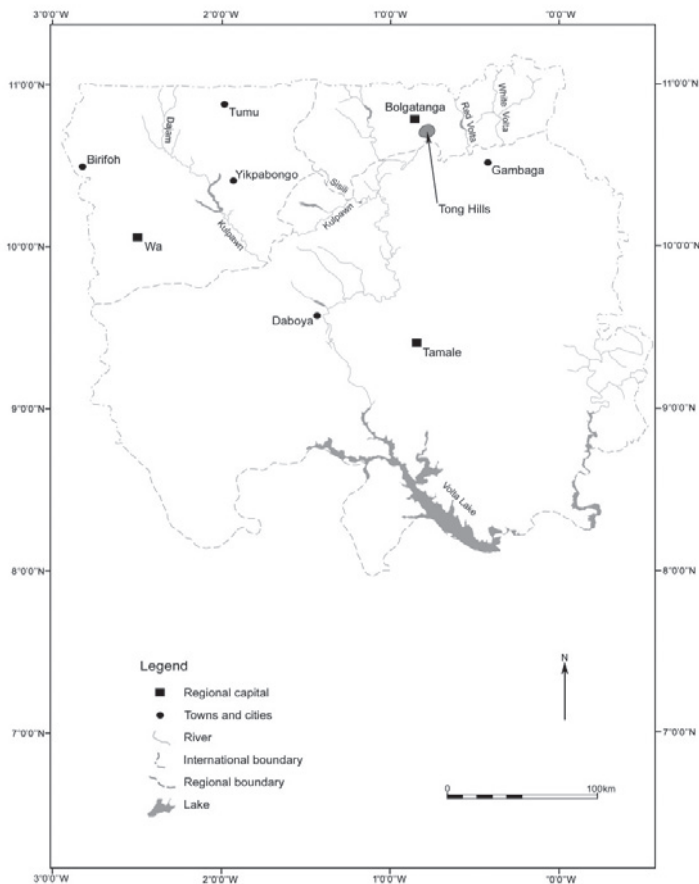
The relevant archaeological record is thus one largely attesting to indigenous religions. Ethnography provides some analogies for interpreting this material but equally indicates that past and present are not wholly equivalent (Insoll, MacLean and Kankpeyeng 2013). The materiality of shrines, ancestor and earth cults, metaphorical relationships with plants and animals, fragmentation, and practice-based approaches to ritual, divination, and healing, are all themes of interpretive relevance to thinking about indigenous religions in the region. Some of these have been explored to varying degrees archaeologically, though generally much more research remains to be done. The evidence considered here is largely presented by region or site as the absence of data precludes a thematic treatment. The area covered is that approximating with the modern administrative regions of Upper East (UER), Upper West (UWR), and Northern Region (NR).

The Archaeology of Indigenous Religions

i) Upper West Region

Limited archaeological research has been completed in UWR. An exception is provided by Saako's (2009) important work undertaken as part of an MPhil project at Birifoh-Sila Yiri (Map 13.1). This village was made anthropologically renowned through prior research by Goody (e.g. 1962, 1967) on, for example, ritual practices surrounding funerals, inheritance, and the construction of ancestors amongst what he termed the Lo Dagaa and Lo Wiili. Saako completed two excavation units at possible Early "Iron Age" sites in Birifoh. Of relevance are the results of Unit BSY1 that contained five potsherd pavements, nine plastered floors, and a burial covered with potsherds. The use of a potsherd covering is indicative of funerary practices no longer extant, but may represent a house burial assuming the floors were associated, which suggests some degree of semblance with certain burial locations today (Saako 2009: 71-72). It was also suggested that a mass burial was represented in the other unit by a deposit of "pieces of potsherds, bones and stones" (Ibid: 44). The reconstructed sixth to eleventh century AD sequence is inferred from ceramic comparisons elsewhere and radiometric dating is yet to be undertaken.

Other archaeological research completed in UWR has been focused on material of later date. Swanepoel (2008) worked on historical archaeology in the village of Dolbizan and its nineteenth century predecessor, the hilltop refuge site of Yalingbong that was occupied as a consequence of Zaberma slave raiding in the region. Settlement structure, rather than rituals and religions, was the focus of her research. Nkumbaan (2008) completed excavations in the market square and the slave master's quarters at Kasana, a site also linked with nineteenth century slavery, 16 km northeast of Tumu (Map 13.1). Further to the west, Kankpeyeng (2003) investigated the Kantosi settlement of Kpaliworgu. The latter site is considered further below in relation to the archaeology of Islam.



Map 13.1. Locations of some of the sites described in northern Ghana.

ii) Upper East Region

Although a formative area for the discipline of Social Anthropology (e.g. Fortes 1945, 1949), the archaeology of what is now the UER has been rarely investigated. Garrard (1986) completed historical, and to a lesser extent ethnographic, research on ‘Frafra’ (Gurensi) brass casting as the basis of his PhD research. Extensive data is also provided on relevant metal work including in relation to its use and

deposition in shrines. Mather (1999, 2003, 2009) completed ethnoarchaeological research on Kusasi shrines for his doctoral research. The results achieved are significant for understanding shrine materiality, form and meaning in, for example, indicating the diversity of Kusasi shrine form. Over one hundred shrine types were recorded, reduced ultimately to five working categories of Land gods (cognate with earth shrines), ancestor shrines, personal shrines, shrines for spirits of the wild, and other forms such as medicine shrines. Apentiik (1997) also focused on ethnographic study for an MPhil dissertation, looking at the systems of meaning behind the production and use of tools and technical processes in relation to iron working among the Balsa. Notable for understanding indigenous religions is the data provided on Balsa personal, medicine, and earth shrines.

Another focus of research in UER has been the Tong Hills (Map 13.1), now occupied by the Talensi ethno-linguistic group. The work of Meyer Fortes on Talensi ritual practices and congregations, the overall religious structure, and its inter-relation with society, based on fieldwork largely in the 1930s, have become anthropological classics (e.g. Fortes 1945, 1949, 1987), though material culture and a diachronic perspective are largely absent (Insoll 2010a). History in the Tong Hills, and shrine history in particular, with an especial emphasis on the earth shrine of Tongnaab Yaane, has also been the focus of an important study by Allman and Parker (2005).

To address the absence of archaeological and ethnoarchaeological research on indigenous rituals and religions in the Tong Hills a major project was undertaken (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and MacLean 2009). Intensive archaeological survey recorded 79 sites, including 18 named shrine sites. The latter is not a reflection of the overall number of shrines, which are vast, but indicative of the larger most important shrines that the community permitted access to (*cf.* Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and MacLean 2009). Twenty-four excavations were also completed with an OSL derived occupation chronology reconstructed based on fourteen dated samples (Insoll, MacLean, and Kankpeyeng 2013). Occupation seems to have been minimal in the LSA and represented only by a single date of the second half of the first millennium BC from adjacent to the Tongnaab Yaane shrine, and not linked with activity in this

shrine that is probably attested by another date of the early sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries AD.

The Early 'Iron Age' is better represented (first millennium AD), as is the Later 'Iron Age' (post AD 1000). Both periods are linked with evidence for shrine use in what is today the Talensi Nyoo earth shrine; it was commented by local elders that Nyoo should be considered as the great shrine for all the Talensi, where worship started and spread from (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and MacLean 2009: 57). However, it is not possible to date specific Talensi links with shrines or the Hills prior to c. the mid-seventeenth century, when according to traditions their ethnogenesis occurred (Fortes 1987: 43; Insoll 2006: 225).

The excavations in the Nyoo shrine provide an example of what has been recorded archaeologically as they produced abundant evidence for ritual practices in the past. In one unit (A) a dense fill dated to AD 955-1155 (951+/-101 BP) composed of thousands of potsherds, including some complete pots fragmented in-situ (Fig.13.1). The authors also recorded thirty-five lithic objects (grinders/pounders/rubbers), along with a small quantity of slag, two iron points, and one iron finger ring, deposited around seven stone arrangements. It is possible that the stone arrangements served to structure and direct movement, perhaps dance, as is apparent in certain ritual contexts today (Insoll 2009). Yet profound differences also exist as manifest by the secondary deposition of the potsherds indicating ritual acts with no direct equivalence today. Why these were deposited is unknown, but perhaps was linked with understandings of materiality associated with the pots as products of the earth, i.e. through the clay used in their manufacture. Hence, via their deposition in the earth at Nyoo, they were returned to the medium from which they came, perhaps in relation to earth cults (Insoll 2010b).

A second unit in Nyoo (B) contained twelve clusters of either paired or single standing stones, of a total of 143 recorded in the area (Figure13.2). These stood to a maximum height of 80 cm above ground and were of the local Bongo granite or exotic rock such as chlorite schist. Adjacent to the standing stones were found sixteen complete pots and various iron artifacts such as bracelets, points, and torcs/anklets. Two dates from the first millennium AD were obtained

for these associated deposits (Insoll, MacLean, and Kankpeyeng 2013). The general view of Talensi elders on these features was that although they did not resemble contemporary practices, the general meanings were apparent, that they were linked into negotiating destiny via the agency of 'Personal Gods' and functioning within the framework of ancestral veneration (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and MacLean 2009: 57).

Hence the excavations indicated both similarities and differences with contemporary Talensi beliefs and practices. Nyoo was also representative of a repeat pattern where shrines served as mnemonic devices, as containers of memory, through incorporating archaeological sites and/or materials into shrine contexts even where they were not directly connected with the current inhabitants (Insoll 2008b). Tongnaab Yaane, for example, similarly referenced the past through its rock shelter location and via acting as a container for the significant material possessions of past *Tengdaanas*, earth priests, who served as the shrine's custodians. Moreover, within some sacred groves, the presence of archaeological material, allied with the manipulated shrine botany questioned the utility of shrine definition via simplistic 'natural' versus 'cultural' distinctions (Insoll 2007).

The potential for further understanding rituals and religions in the past in UER is clearly indicated by the density of archaeological and heritage sites mapped during surveys completed in advance of rehabilitation of the main Kintampo to Paga road (Bredwa-Mensah et. al. 2010). This recorded, in a narrow strip contiguous to the road corridor, eleven sites in the Paga locality, twenty-one sites in the Navrongo locality, four sites in the Sumburugu and Yikine localities, and five sites in the Pwalugu locality (ibid: 6-7). The sites included sacred crocodile ponds, shrines formed of trees and ponds, shrines incorporating archaeological sites, burial sites, and settlement mounds.

iii) Northern Region

In the far north of Northern Region significant archaeological research focused upon the First millennium AD and Later (post AD 1000) has been completed in Koma Land. This archaeological region covers an area of approximately 100 x 100km within the basins of the Kulpawn and Sisili rivers (Map.13.1). James Anquandah first investigated Koma

Land through excavations at the site of Yikpabongo (Anquandah 1987, 1998), and renewed research has taken place at various sites in the region since 2006 (Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan 2009). Initially the mounds at Yikpabongo were interpreted as burial mounds and dated to between c. AD 1200 to 1800 (Anquandah 1998: 103-109). This has now been revised with the mounds interpreted as possibly being the remains of shrines (Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan 2009: 201), perhaps functioning in the context of healing (Kankpeyeng, Nkumbaan, and Insoll 2011), and dated to between the sixth and early fourteenth centuries AD (*ibid.*).

Yikpabongo and other Koma Land sites are famous for the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic clay figurines recovered in large numbers from them (Anquandah 1998), which provide an insight into past spiritual beliefs and their associated ritual practices (Fig.13.3). The corpus of figurine forms is large and has not yet been fully placed in a typology. It includes, in various degrees of realism, human Janus figurines, human twin figurines, seated and standing human male, female, and androgynous figurines, human 'activity' figurines such as camel and rider, part human and part animal figurines, such as winged human 'birds', animal figurines (chameleon, snakes, crocodiles, hippopotami, tortoises, cows, sheep etc.), and stylized forms of human-headed conical bases, and plain cone and bicone figures, as well as clay models of organic objects such as gourds (Anquandah 1998: 122-150; Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan 2009: 199-200).

The Koma figurines and their associated contexts suggest the prior existence of complex systems of belief involving multiple components, perhaps, ancestor veneration, the ascription of agency and animate properties to materials and locations, metaphorical relations with animals and plants, and earth and medicine cults related to fertility and healing (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and Nkumbaan 2012). However, ethnographic analogies for their use and meaning are lacking, as there is no link between the makers of the figurines and current populations. The latter have only occupied the region from c.120-130 years ago (Kröger 2010: 1), it previously having been depopulated due to, disease and/or migration and/or slave raiding (Kankpeyeng, Nkumbaan, and Insoll 2011).

The results of excavation of one mound, YK10-3/YK11 can be used to provide an example of what can be inferred about rituals and religions from the archaeological data. Radiocarbon dated to Cal AD1010-1170 (970+/-40 BP), a total of 251 figurine (7 complete, 6 largely complete) and figurine fragments (238) were recovered (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and Nkumba 2012: 28-29). These included human, animal, part human and part animal representations, and were found along with selected human remains, iron objects, glass beads, pottery and lithics. The dispersal patterns of the figurines across the c. 18 m x 15 m mound varied. Context and some figurine forms suggested the offering of libations was a significant ritual practice in the past. In two contexts, figurines were found associated with possible libation structures composed of arrangements of potsherds and a clay structure, perhaps a libations hole, and a stone quern. The inference that can be made from these features is that presumably liquid offerings were made to the earth through the agency of the holes in the clay structure, perhaps because of the low height of the structure and figurines via crouching, squatting, kneeling or sitting, rather than a standing posture (Insoll and Kankpeyeng 2013).



Fig 13.1 The density of ceramics recorded in unit A in the Nyoo shrine.

Cavities sometimes pierced into the figurines, singularly or in combination, from the top of the head, ears, nostrils or mouth also suggest the offering of libations (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and Nkumbaan 2012: 31). Computed Tomography scanning of five figurines indicated that these cavities could be incised deep into cone and human forms, but not, seemingly, animal ones. It is possible that powerful, protective, and/or medicinal substances were inserted into some of these figurines as has been ethnographically recorded elsewhere, as with *mankishi*, wooden figurines produced by the Songye of Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (*cf.* Hersak 2010). Offering libations could have been connected with all or any of the potential elements of belief previously defined, as well as others unknown.

It can also be suggested that the figurines might have been perceived as ancestors, as has previously been suggested by Anquandah (1998: 159). The fact that many of the figurines are fragmentary might be of significance with, for instance, thirteen torsos, forty-three heads including four Janus heads, and twenty-nine arms recorded. Perhaps the fragments represent deliberate processes of fragmentation linking individuals and kin groups through ancestors represented by the figurines (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and Nkumbaan 2012: 40-41). The concept of “dividual” personhood (Fowler 2004: 8) might be relevant, enchainning people, figurine fragments, shrines, and substances. Such an interpretation is lent support by the selective focus upon human remains apparent in mound YK10-3/YK 11. A fragmentary skull placed upside down with the front facing into the earth and fragments of human long bones to the southwest and southeast were recorded. A human jawbone was also associated with the southeast long bones. A pile of twenty-seven human teeth from two individuals had also been placed directly east of the skull. This contained the mixed teeth of two individuals, a younger adult with some evidence for tooth filing, and an older individual (Insoll, Kankpeyeng, and Nkumbaan 2012: 38). The possession and curation of these body parts may also have served to enchain the living, the dead, and the figurines within a framework of ancestral veneration.

One hundred and fifty-three figurine fragments were also recovered from the site of Daboya (Shinnie and Kense 1989: 161) (Map 13.1). This is an important site with a reconstructed sequence

between the early second millennium BC and the modern period. The Daboya figurines are seemingly unrelated to the Koma Land material, though the site is less than sixty kilometres south-east of Koma Land. However, chronologically they might be partly contemporary, though the suggested dates for the Daboya figurines are vague, spanning the late first millennium through to “at the latest” the “beginning of the 20th century” (Shinnie and Kense 1989: 167). Figurine form is also different to Koma Land with much less realistic modeling of the seated and standing human figurines evident and stamp and incised impression and red painting and slipping used for decorative and modeling purposes (*cf.* Shinnie and Kense 1989: 161-166).

The Archaeology of Islam

i) The Mande

The primary agent for the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana was trade, and this is a subject that has been considered by Insoll (2003: 333-341). From the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries Mande traders travelled south from their homelands on the Middle Niger seeking gold from the Akan forest. In return they brought finished goods such as cloth, salt and metalwork (Wilks 2000). A correlate of this, as Garrard (1988: 4) notes, was that “a number of small villages along the northern fringe of the Akan region began to develop into prosperous gold-trading towns”. These included Begho and Bono Manso.



Fig 13. 2. The standing stones and associated pots in unit B in the Nyoo shrine.

ii) Begho

At Begho in the Brong-Ahafo Region, which flourished between the fifteenth/sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Stahl 1994), some 150 mounds were recorded clustered in four areas and representing collapsed compounds in different quarters of the town (Posnansky 1973, 1987). The Mande occupied the Kramo quarter (Posnansky 1987: 17). No trace of a mosque was found, though the oral traditions indicate the presence of one (Anquandah 1993: 645) attested by Begho's oral traditions as narrated by Seku Khalidu Bamba of Bofie and Buna, a descendant of the last Imam of Begho mosque documented by Wilks in 1966 (Wilks 1993). A Muslim presence was instead seemingly attested in Kramo by the orientation and position of two burials, an absence of grass-cutter remains, and the presence of ceramic drainpipes perhaps indicative of the former use of flat-roofed architecture derived from the Mande homelands (Posnansky 1973, 1987). Indirect evidence for long distance trade was provided by spindle whorls similar to those from Djenne in Mali, and by potsherds shaped to conform to Islamic weight standards. In the Dwinfour quarter the remains of a brass foundry were also recorded (Posnansky 1973, 1987; Stahl 1994), brass being obtained from trans-Saharan routes and later (sixteenth century), European coastal ones (Garrard 1988; Insoll 2003: 335-336).

iii) Gonja, Bono Manso, and Dagomba

Besides the Mande, Muslim traders from Borno and Hausa also operated in northern and north-central Ghana. The Kano Chronicle records routes from Borno to Gonja in the mid-fifteenth century and Salaga was an important centre involved in the Hausa Land trade (Levtzion 1968). Also in Gonja, the period between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries at Daboya is potentially significant (*cf.* Shinnie and Kense 1989), but no direct evidence for Muslims was found with mosques and orthodox Muslim burials absent. Red-painted Silima pottery at Daboya might originally be a Sahelian development (Shinnie and Kense 1989: 13), but it cannot be chronologically linked with historical sources such as the *Kitab Ghanja* and the references to

movements of horsemen, presumably Muslims, from Mali to Gonja (Insoll 2003: 339).

Excavations at New Buie in the Brong-Ahafo Region, also in the former territories of Gonja, indicated architectural change to flat-roofed rectangular structures in the sixteenth century which was interpreted as “a concomitant of Islam” (York 1973: 160). An undated mosque has also been reported at Buie (Shinnie 1981: 69), and an important extant mosque exists at Larabanga in the Northern Region. This is described by Prussin (1969: 92) as built in the “Sudanese style”, which is a reference to the characteristic pinnacles, permanent wooden scaffolding, and earthen materiality of its architecture. These features are also found on the mosques at Dondoli (a section of Wa), and Nakore eight kilometres south-west of Wa in UWR, as well as at Bole, Maluwe, and Banda Nkwanta in the NR, further testifying to historic Islamic connections in the area. A ‘Jenne-style’ mosque at Wuriyanga in UER again demonstrates the potential relationships between Islam and trade. The chronology of these mosques is essentially unknown and requires archaeological investigation.

Other important sites associated with early Islam and Muslim traders in north central Ghana include Yendi-Dabari in the NR, and the capital of Dagomba (*cf.* Stahl 1994). Intriguingly, evidence for mosques appears to be lacking at both sites, though a caravanseraï, a hostel for travellers common in the Islamic world (Insoll 2003: 341), was recorded at Yendi-Dabari (Ozanne 1971: 55-56). Manifestations of Islamic connections to northern Ghana have been noted at sites immediately to the south including Bono Manso where intra-settlement patterning suggested that the foreigners quarter, Kramokrom, was kept at some 4km distance from the other parts of the town (Effah-Gyamfi 1985). The latter, unusually, suggests perhaps a degree of fear of religious or cultural inter-mixing.



Fig. 13.3. Figurines in-situ, mound YK10-3/YK 11.

Trade Routes

To reach these centres Mande and other Muslim traders would have had to pass through northern Ghana. This is probably via one of two routes, either a north-western one to the Middle Niger or north-eastern directed one to Mossi and Hausa Land. When these routes, conduits also for the transmission of Islam into Northern Ghana, were first used is unclear, though Apentiik (1997: 30), for example, suggests that there was trade in cattle and slaves between Mossi Land and “areas south of it” in the north-east by AD 1500. Anquandah (1998: 55) has also suggested for the north-west that Koma Land was on a major north–south trade route and that salt, copper, kola, gold, silver and animal skins might have been transported and traded from and through the region. Archaeological evidence for participation in

this long distance trade in both regions is very limited. In the Tong Hills it consists of two glass, and one agate bead, and a few cowry shells (Insoll, MacLean, and Kankpeyeng 2013), and at Yikpabongo of clay figurines representing horse and camel riders (Anquandah 1998: 124), and some cowry shells and glass beads (Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan 2009).

i) Gambaga and Wa

Evidence for conversion to Islam in most of these further regions of northern Ghana is also non-existent except in a few defined centres; Gambaga (NR) and Wa (UWR) provide relevant examples (Map.13.1). Gambaga, capital of Mamprugu was one of the staging posts for trade between Mossi and Hausa Land and Dagomba and Gonja (Garrard 1986). Origin traditions for Mamprugu state that it developed into an important kingdom in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries through the impetus of mounted conquerors in the late fifteenth century (Kense 1992: 144), reflecting traditions of origin of all the ruling houses in the region, claiming descent from Na Gbewa of Pusiga near Bawku (UER) (Allman and Parker 2005: 25). Survey indicates that occupation linked with the sixteenth century or later seems to have been focused on Gambaga and Nalerigu, but their origins remain unclear (Kense 1992: 153-154). Unfortunately, the result of the archaeological research completed remains largely unpublished.

No archaeological research has been conducted at Wa though it is home to a substantial Muslim population, and thus it lacks a settlement chronology. However, archaeological research at Kpaliworgu sheds some light on early Muslim activities in Wa as substantial Kantosi populations (of the Sienu and Kunatey groups) from the former settled among the indigenous Lobi populations at the latter. As the focus of his Doctoral research, Kankpeyeng (2003) investigated Kpaliworgu and reconstructed an occupation sequence from the mid-seventeenth century to a period of abandonment *ca* 1900. The settlement of Kpaliworgu covered an area of about 15 square kilometers divided into sections, some about a kilometer apart. The archaeology of Kpaliworgu consists of house mounds, Muslim prayer areas, grave markers, piles of stone and local ceramic sherds, and burials (Kankpeyeng 2003).

Islamic archaeology consisted of seven prayer areas marked by lateritic boulders and remnants of a short lateritic mud mortared wall. It has been identified as the only Friday mosque in Kantosi oral traditions measuring 120 cm (L) x 80 cm (W) x 50 cm (H). Muslim burials were also recognized.

Conclusions

Islam and indigenous religions were not mutually incompatible spheres, interaction occurred, and enhanced archaeological research is required to assess the degree of syncretism between the two and the implications this holds for material culture and the archaeological record. For example, in charting shrine visiting and “franchising” processes (Insoll 2006) in the Tong Hills, it was evident that many of the clients were Muslims. The associated processes of cultural and religious transfer and fusion need further exploring diachronically and materially, and should be made the focus of future research. Thus it can be seen that the archaeology of Northern Ghana is very rich but as yet little understood. Much potential exists for exploring the complexity and diversity of rituals and religions from an archaeological perspective in Northern Ghana and it is likely that this will have interpretive resonance beyond the sub-region alone.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to Dr. Rachel MacLean for comments on the paper. However, all errors and omissions remain our own.

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Chapter 14

Bringing Archaeology to the People: Towards a Viable Public Archaeology in Ghana

Kodzo Gavua and Kofi Nutor

Introduction

Following McGimsey (1972), the term ‘public archaeology’ has been broadly used to refer to aspects of archaeological research and other activity that relate to the public interest. These key aspects include the management of cultural resources in line with the mandates of state and local heritage protection laws (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004; Sabloff 2009), active engagement by archaeologists of communities in the planning and execution of research (Schmidt and Patterson 1995), communication with various publics about archaeological inquiry and its results (Holtorf 2007; Little 2002; Merriman 2004) as well as the packaging of research findings in ways that would be responsive to the social and economic aspirations of communities and nations (Sabloff 2008; Shackel and Chambers 2004). Public archaeologists strive to foster better public understanding of the value of work they undertake and to elicit public support for and public protection of archaeological sites and other cultural heritage resources.

A 1950s display of some archaeological objects by the late Thurstan Shaw in the Museum of Anthropology, Achimota College, marked the beginnings of attempts by archaeologists operating in Ghana to engage the general public. The study, documentation and salvaging of archaeological sites and objects in the Volta basin before it was inundated by floodwaters of the Akosombo hydroelectric dam comprised another major public archaeological activity in the country. Beyond these, there have been several archaeological projects, which have directly and indirectly served the public.

Public understanding of and support for archaeology in the country have, nonetheless, been limited. The discipline has remained enigmatic and unpopular among a cross-section of citizens, including academics

(Insoll 2008) and state officials, many of who fail to appreciate its value. A combination of variables has influenced the public perception and reception of archaeology in Ghana. The tendency for archaeologists working in the country to overly focus on scientific and academic goals, while paying little or no attention to the economic, social, and political interests of communities in which they practice partly accounts for poor public understanding and appreciation of the discipline. In many cases, the archaeologists conveniently designed research projects to satisfy the expectations of granting agencies and to fulfill their career objectives. Thus, they superficially dialogue with peoples among whom they work and whose heritage they research.

The discussion that follows addresses some key variables that distance the public from archaeology in Ghana. It further suggests strategies by which archaeologists could use to foster public understanding of and support for archaeological research and other activity in Ghana. The authors draw on mainly research activities in which they have been engaged at Dzake-Peki in the mid-west Volta Region of Ghana and on the works of other archaeologists in Ghana to argue that in order to establish a synergistic relationship between archaeology and the public, the discipline has to become a people-centred enterprise. In this regard, it would be useful for archaeologists, who practise in the country, to have a relatively good knowledge and understanding of the attitudes, conceptions, beliefs and interests of the communities in which they operate and to engage with the relevant publics in the planning and execution of archaeological projects (McNiven and Russell 2005; Schmidt and Patterson 1995) without glossing over the scientific and academic goals of their research. Also, the archaeologists should disseminate information on research character and findings, using less technical language, to the communities and other relevant publics (Watkins 2006) as well as manage research results in ways that would translate into social, economic and political benefits to the public. Such an approach would align with new directions of archaeological practice in postcolonial Africa in order to become responsive to the disenchantments and misconceptions of indigenous communities and producers of 'usable pasts' (see Lane 2011:14; Schmidt 2009; Sebogy 2005; Sowunmi 1998).

Archaeology of Indigenous Religion at Dzake-Peki

In the year 2000, Dr. Gavua followed information provided by the then paramount Chief of Dzake-Peki to locate and inspect *Dente-Ga* (N6°30.380', E0°11.647'). It is the site of an ancient shrine of the town, which was, according to informants, a franchise of *Dente*, a Kete-Krachi deity that had been popular between the 18th and 19th centuries. He cleaned up the site in 2007 at the invitation of the people of Peki and in September and October, 2008, the authors embarked upon an archaeological, historical, and ethnographic examination of the indigenous religion of Dzake-Peki as part of a broader research on "Religion and Identity among the Northern Ewe of Ghana."

Twelve contiguous units at *Dente-Ga* and one unit at "Locus 2" (N6°30.082', E0°11.795') within the Dzake-Peki settlement were excavated. 4,907 portable archaeological materials, including several fragments of Dutch schnapps and other gin bottles, pottery, European ceramics, coins, cowry shells and a mammalian tooth, were excavated at *Dente-Ga*. Locus 2 yielded a total of 1,444 artifacts among which were fragments of pottery, European ceramics, smoking pipes, bottles, cowry shells, snail shells, bones, and metal objects. Table 14.1 shows the distribution of finds (NISPs) recovered from the excavations.

Table 14.1: Artifact assemblage from Dzake-Peki

Artifact	Dente Ga	Locus 2	Total
Pottery (whole vessels)	3	-	3
potsherds	120	610	730
Bottles (whole sherds)	13	-	13
Bottle and glass fragments	4746	310	5056
European ceramics	8	59	67
coins	7	-	7
Smoking pipe	-	4	4
Metals	-	26	26
Lithics (portable)	-	2	2
Cowry shells	9	5	14
Bones/teeth	1	223	224
Snail shell	-	205	205
Total	4907	1444	6351

The *Dente-Ga* was strategically sited in a rock-shelter within a grove through which a seasonal stream flows on a rocky hill, along a pre-colonial trade route that linked the northern and southern regions of Ghana east of the Volta River. Among the multiple functions that have been attributed to the shrine was the medical treatment of ailing enslaved people, their masters and other members of the general public. It also afforded protection of the Dzake-Peki and other Peki communities and warriors against ill-fortune. A detailed analysis of the finds from the site has been done elsewhere (Nutor 2010). However, the relatively large quantities of squared-faced case bottles with applied and slanted collar recovered (Fig. 14.1a and 14.1b) may be indicative of the centrality of alcohol usage at the shrine (see Acheampong 2002). It may also be symptomatic of the wealth that the shrine had generated. Priests of the shrine probably received the bottles with their contents in exchange for services they provided, as foreign gin and schnapps were among items that have been used as media of exchange in pre-colonial Ghana (Van den Bersselaar 2007).



Fig.14. 1a: Liquor rim fragments – with applied, down-tooled lips



Fig.14. 1b: Liquor base fragments – with shallow concave and square rounded corners

The ethnographic research at Dzake-Peki focused on the indigenous religion as practiced in the community today in order to generate additional insights into some of the activities that probably occurred at the *Dente-Ga* shrine. This aspect of the study suggested that the indigenous religion promote religious syncretism and encourage youth patronage in the community. It also brought to the fore some limitations of inferring ‘religion’ from material culture particularly in archaeological contexts, while blotting away the strict dichotomization between the ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ as far as material culture is concerned. The paper accentuates the observation that archaeological

materials or objects have complex ‘social lives’ (Appadurai 1986) or ‘cultural biographies’ (Kopytoff 1986)

Public Misconceptions at Dzake-Peki and other Communities

Public knowledge of, and engagement with archaeology in Dzake-Peki and its environs at the commencement of the study had been limited, as no archaeological works had been carried out in the area. The local ignorance of archaeology is best captured in the statement “*Mi me nya nuka wom wole oo*” (We don’t know what they are doing), which the local people had commonly made in reference to the excavations at *Dente-ga* and Locus 1 when the work was started.

The research team had at the commencement of work clearly discussed the research goals and dialogued with the chiefs and elders of the community about the process and benefits of the work. Rumours then went around the community that the team would, as part of the project, develop *Dente-ga* into a tourist attraction. With the exception of a group of elders and young men the chiefs selected to join the research team, the local people, nonetheless, remained apprehensive and distanced themselves from the shrine site. They had perceived the site to be sacred, awful and mundane. The reality of the misconception of archaeology in the community hit home when the team began excavating Locus 2. Some of the people had thought the team was digging for precious minerals and so critically watched the excavation. And when they realized otherwise, they began to wonder why the team would waste time, energy and resources on such an economically and socially valueless venture of garbage (*dudor*) collecting.

The Dzake-Peki situation was not unique. Such negative public perception of archaeological research has been a common phenomenon in other communities in the mid-west of Volta Region. Many members of the Kpando Todzi community where Dr. Wazi Apoh undertook his doctoral field research were flabbergasted to see him travel all the way from the USA to dig middens and collect ‘discarded materials’ (Apoh 2008). Also, during archaeological excavations the authors conducted at Wusuta in 2006 (Gavua 2008) some members of the community provided their own interpretations of some of the artifacts

recovered and speculated on what they would be used for. They, for example, claimed the human and animal bones and shells recovered in the excavation were to be used for the processing of cocaine and the ancient bottles excavated would serve as receptacles in which the cocaine would be packaged for export! This is very weird indeed!

Advancing Public Knowledge of Archaeology at Dzake-Peki and Beyond

Being mindful of the obvious lack of knowledge in the local communities that the technological and cultural achievements, triumphs, and vicissitudes of their forebears were embedded in the ‘garbage’ which they unwittingly destroy, the Dzake-Peki research team embarked upon an exercise to deepen public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of their work in the community and to ‘bring archaeology to the people’. The team continually engaged the community and shared information with the people that gathered at the project sites during the course of work. The team organized a public forum and showed footages of video documents of the *Dente-ga* site, the excavation process, finds and other ancillary ethnographic activities such as indigenous religious and secular music and dance performances. Questions, comments and concerns of the audience were also addressed during the ceremony. Many of the people were probably not totally convinced, but admired and appreciated the ‘scientific’ manner in which the team handled the various stages of the archaeological excavation and the project in general.

The above outreach programme in addition to subsequent interactions the team had with the community, and the *in situ* conservation of features found at the site transformed many of the people’s attitude towards the project. Visitation of the site by chiefs, elders, and other interest groups in the Dzake-Peki community and other Peki towns increased on daily basis (Fig.14.2). By the end of the research mission many of the people deepened their knowledge of aspects of their culture history and did not have to wait for the publication of reports on the research in order to be informed about its results. The site currently evokes the “collective memory” (Halbwachs 1992) of the people of Peki who identify with and regard it as a valuable heritage asset that could attract tourists to the town.



Figure 14. 2: Visitation of the Dente-ga site by community elders

The public engineering undertaken in Dzake-Peki adds to similar interventions by other archaeologists in recent times to make archaeology more relevant to the public in Ghana. Other attempts at advancing public archaeology in the country abound and comprise media outreach programmes and photo exhibitions, including those of the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Project (Gblerkpor 2008) and the Kormantse Archaeological Research Project (Agorsah 2008; Schaffer and Agorsah 2010). In addition, Ann Stahl's grassroots development initiative in the Bui-Banda communities of the Bono-Ahafo Region of Ghana (see Apoh 2008:254), the late Bredwa Mensah's research on the Frederiksgave Danish plantation at Sesemi, near Accra (Bredwa-Mensah 2004; 2008), which culminated in the restoration and conversion of the main building at the site into a museum (Bredwa-Mensah *et al*, n.d.) and the efforts of Kodzo Gavua and Wazi Apoh to transform the site of German colonial buildings at Kpando-Todzi into a cultural village (see Apoh 2008:255-258) are all exemplary

projects. Similar efforts were engaged in salvaging and conserving features they encountered in the excavation of an ancient ironworking site at Adome (Gavua and Apoh 2011). They also assisted in salvaging the cultural heritage properties of three settlements that were to be inundated by the floodwaters of the Bui hydroelectric dam. All these projects provide variable dimensions of public archaeology in Ghana.

While pursuing its orthodox responsibilities of providing teaching, scientific research and extension services, the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies at the University of Ghana has in recent years embarked on vigorous interventions that aimed at ‘democratizing’ archaeology in Ghana. These interventions include the regular participation of faculty and students in community research projects across the different regions of Ghana and the organization of major exhibitions in the department’s Museum of Archaeology on projects faculty and graduate student engage in. There have also been major exhibitions on local fabrics and football. The former, dubbed “Fabric of a Nation: Textiles and Identity in Ghana”, was held in 2007 concurrently at the department’s museum and at the British Museum in London to commemorate Ghana’s 50th independence anniversary. The department organized an exhibition on the history of football in Ghana to mark the 2008 edition of the Cup of African Nations (CAN 2008) football fiesta held in Ghana.

The projects outlined above are veritable examples of what is often termed ‘archaeology as if the present matters’. Such projects have not only succeed in fostering deeper public understanding of archaeological works but have also helped to bring together communities in contestations and to promote synergy between archaeologists and various publics. In all the cases referred to, rival groups of people, including chiefs and elders, footballers of different teams and generations collaborated and patronized the research projects, exhibitions and other archaeology-related activities.

Summary and Conclusion

The discussion suggests there has been a gradual shift in recent times towards public archaeology in Ghana as a means by which archaeologists would like to stimulate public interest, understanding and

appreciation of their discipline and to render it responsive to the development interests of communities in which they operate. The different research approaches and strategies employed at Dzake-Peki and elsewhere, as outlined in the discussion, may have added some value to archaeology and made it appealing to the relevant communities across Ghana. However, archaeologists need to do more in line with the tenets of public archaeology that encompass people-centred approaches the authors have defined. This is because a relatively large section of the public are ill-informed about what archaeologists do and remain oblivious of the essence of archaeology.

The Dzake-Peki and other field research experiences have shown that archaeology could be practiced beyond academic elitism and conveniently presented to the public through cost effective means of communication. Public outreach programmes involving exhibitions and other audio-visual presentations of research findings, media discussion of research projects, informal knowledge-sharing interactions between archaeologists and members of the communities in which they work, the on-site conservation of features and the provision by archaeologists of facilities that could enable the communities to rally and discuss their cultural heritage and related issues may be useful catalysts to demystifying archaeology and bringing it to the public domain. Such programmes should be used not only to foster public education about the past but also to inculcate in various publics respect for the achievements and values of their forebears and that of others, while mainstreaming archeology for contemporary development.

The practice of public archaeology as advocated does not recommend any minimization of the scientific qualities and academic objectives of research. It only enjoins researchers to 'let the past serve the present'; to mainstream the discipline into the social and economic development agenda of communities and the nation so as to prevent its slow death in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa south of the Sahara. In this sense, the public would eventually realize that archaeological sites and objects are unique records of human achievements and, in some cases, waywardness and form a sense of cultural and national identity. The records would also become the basis upon which individual and group creativity could be enhanced.

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Chapter 15

Cultural Resource Management Archaeology in Ghana

Samuel Nilirmi Nkumbaan and William Narteh Gblerkpor

Introduction

This paper introduces readers to the discipline of cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology. Cultural resource management became an integral part of archaeology only in the 1970s, though it dates far back into time. It started in the United States of America (U.S.A) as a response to the need for investigating cultural resources on public lands, assessing their significance, and planning their management thereof (Fowler, 1982: 1). In Ghana however, the first CRM archaeology project was carried out in the 1960s, a period earlier than when it became crucial in the U.S.A. This paper seeks to introduce readers to what cultural resource management archaeology entails, its development through time into a discipline that is taught in universities, the legal context within which the CRM operates, both generally and specifically in Ghana, and to highlight some of the CRM projects that have been carried out in Ghana. This is done through a review of existing literature on the subject matter, and having personal conversations with field directors of some of the projects that we used as case studies.

What is Cultural Resource Management?

Cultural resource management is said to be synonymous with the term “Public Archaeology” which according to Bahn (2004: 396), is “a generic term for that branch of archaeology that deals with the impact of contemporary construction and other developments on archaeological sites, and the various laws enacted to mitigate the threat. It has spawned an industry aimed at preserving archaeological sites, which is known in Great Britain as Rescue Archaeology and in the United States as Salvage Archaeology or Cultural Resource Management”. In this respect, the terms, Rescue Archaeology and Salvage Archaeology

may be used interchangeably with cultural resource management, though advisedly and given that public archaeology is a much broader concept with CRM as a part.

Fowler (1982: 1) indicates that the term 'Cultural Resources' began to be used within the United States National Park Services in 1971/72; a working definition of which is "physical features, both natural and manmade, associated with human activity. These would include sites, structures, and objects possessing significance, either individually or as groupings, in history, architecture, archaeology, or human development...Cultural properties are unique and nonrenewable resources" (Fowler, 1974: 1467-1468, Fowler, 1982: 1). Adding the concept of "Management" to this definition of cultural resources, CRM has been defined as "the application of management skills (planning, organizing, directing, controlling, and evaluating) to achieve goals set through the political process to preserve important aspects of our cultural heritage for the benefit of the ...people" (see Fowler, 1982: 1; Walka, 1979: 576-578; Wildesen 1980: 10;). Cultural resource management therefore encompasses all relevant cultural resources or heritage of a country. In fact it is "concerned with the identification and evaluation of archaeological sites to protect them from disturbance or destruction and investigate those that cannot be saved" (Sharer and Ashmore, 1993: 34).

King (2005: 12) sees CRM to be "a fancy term for trying to take care of what's important to people for cultural reasons – including archaeological sites, but also including old buildings, neighborhoods, songs, stories, dance forms, religious beliefs and practices – in the context of the modern world's laws, politics, governments, and economic forces". He further indicates a broader use of the term CRM to include "doing archaeology in connection with development and land use, under various national, state or provincial, tribal, and local laws. In other words, doing archaeology in places that are in danger of being bulldozed, flooded, bombed, plowed, or otherwise screwed up, or that are managed by government agencies"(King, 2005: 12-13). These perspectives of what cultural resource management entails are reflected in a number of archaeological projects that have been

conducted in Ghana. This paper examines these and the general development of CRM with emphasis on Ghana.

A Historical Perspective of CRM

Beginning in the United States, the growth of CRM according to Sharer and Ashmore (1993: 34) is a direct result of an increasing concern over the accelerated destruction of archaeological sites worldwide. In other words, CRM developed in response to a number of concerns within archaeology and society. These concerns reflect the environment and the detrimental alterations resulting from urbanization, industrialization, and other land-altering activities (see Fowler, 1982, Moratto 1975,). A 'crises' had been declared in both environmental and cultural realms in the U. S in the mid-1960s due to the increasingly severe levels of threat to both the natural and cultural resources (Clewlow et al. 1971; Davis, 1972; Fowler, 1982; Pastron et al. 1973; Rains et al, 1965; Whitaker, 1976).

In response to these threats, strict legislation was passed to deal with concerns of water pollution, endangered biological species, environmental degradation and dwindling cultural resources (Fowler, 1982, U.S Code, 1977 i, j, h). The major U.S Federal Legislation for the protection of archaeological resources as noted in Sharer and Ashmore (1993: 591-593) included:

1. Antiquities Act of 1906: meant to protect sites on federal lands
2. Historic Sites Act of 1935: Provides authority for designating National Historic Landmarks and for archaeological survey before destruction by development programs.
3. National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (amended in 1976 and 1980): this was to strengthen the protection of sites via National Register; and to integrate state and local agencies into national program of site preservation.
4. National Environmental Policy Act of 1969: requires all federal agencies to specify impact of development programs on cultural resources
5. Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979: Provides criminal and civil penalties for looting or damaging sites on public and Native American lands.

6. Convention of Cultural Property of 1982: Authorizes U.S participation in the 1970 UNESCO convention to prevent illegal international trade in cultural property.
7. Cultural Property Act of 1983: Provides sanctions against U.S import or export of illicit antiquities
8. Federal Abandoned Shipwreck Act of 1988: Removes sunken ships of archaeological interest from marine salvage jurisdiction and provides for protection rather under state jurisdiction.
9. Federal Reburial and Repatriation Act of 1990: Specifies return of Native American remains and cultural property to Native American groups by U.S museums.

These legislative instruments do not only lend credence to the significance of cultural resources and the need for the protection of antiquity, which developing countries ought to emulate. They also provoke a number of key concerns in the practice of CRM archaeology. Details of these concerns have been discussed by King (2005: 123-139). Such concerns border on the question of whether to excavate a site or not, indirect impacts of development projects on sites and landscape, archaeological versus other impacts, and the number of sites involved if different loci of cultural activity are encountered. Other key concerns include the relevance of CRM research, responsibility for archaeological data obtained, and repatriation and/or reburial of human skeletal remains; for which the Federal Reburial and Repatriation Act of 1990 in the United States was formulated.

In Ghana, the Bui Power Salvage Archaeological Project encountered similar challenges as reburial was required of certain ancestral remains at the resettlement site before communities agreed to relocate to the new site to make way for the construction of the Hydro-Electric dam (Gavua and Apoh 2011b). Added to these are the concerns of adequate planning in order to avoid surprises, current survey equipment and standards and the future potentials of better recording and recovery of data, the etiquette of contracting with antique dealers or otherwise, management and labour relations, taking care not to do another discipline's work, and finally, determining the question of what makes a site important.

The aforementioned are some of the challenges or contemplations that CRM archaeologists face as they go into the field on rescue missions. They are also bothered by these factors when they have to accept contracts from agencies to conduct archaeological reconnaissance surveys and excavation before a development project is carried out. Also, there is difficulty in decision making regarding the quality of research, contracting with treasure hunters or not, and compromising quality or otherwise with the budgets they present as they bid for contracts.

In addition to the general concerns around which CRM emerged, a number of specific concerns were also beginning to emerge within the archaeological community. They included first, the recognition that cultural resources, especially archaeological resources, were rapidly being depleted by state supported activities, private land development, and vandalism (Clewlow et al., 1971; Davis, 1972; Pastron et.al, 1973). The second concern was that archaeological research, and attempts to protect and conserve archaeological resources, must be played out in the public arena, since almost all archaeological research was supported by public funds (Fowler, 1982: 3; McGimsey, 1972). The third concern had to do with the formulation of a conservation ethic which demanded the use of legal and other means to protect and conserve extant archaeological resources for the future (Lipe, 1974). Embedded in this was also the promulgation of a professional ethic within the archaeological profession seeking to conserve rather than simply collecting or excavating threatened sites.

The requirements of state legislation and the realities of the continued impact on cultural resources by development and vandalism meant that there was the need for management of the cultural resources (Fowler, 1982: 3). Following these developments, a number of conferences and seminars were held in 1974 where major problems or issues such as the legal context of CRM, preparation and evaluation of reports, communication of research results, relations with the native people, professional certification, and the conduct of CRM were discussed. In particular, the issues relating to certification of the minimal level of expertise in various areas of archaeological research and management, promulgating a professional code of ethics, and increased need for

trained personnel to carry out field, laboratory, and management tasks relating to CRM formed the central themes of the seminars. These were the very reasons why many universities started graduate level training programmes after 1974 (Fowler, 1982: 3-4; Lipe, 1974; Lipe and Lindsay, 1974; McGimsey and Davis, 1977; McGimsey, 1972; see also Society of Professional Archaeologists 1980).

In the United Kingdom however, heritage management may be said to be a byproduct of an exhaustive survey for defense purposes. This begun with the Ordinance Survey of 1791 in which historical monuments; castles, hill forts, burial mounds etc. were inventoried. Happily, this byproduct happens to be the accurate surveying and recording of visible ancient remains and earthworks in the landscape of England. Beyond this, it was not until some 88 years after that legislation providing statutory protection for monuments of national importance was realized. This came to light particularly around 1908 when the national royal commissions were established (Thorpe, 2008).

In South Africa, heritage legislation dates back to 1911, at the insistence of the South African National Society (SANS). This legislation (The Bushmen Relics Protection Act – No. 22 of 1911) was principally to control the export of original rock painting and engravings, which at the time posed serious threats to South African rock art (see Deacon, 1993). The law did not however provide for other heritage resources. Pressure from SANS led to the 1923 proclamation of the Natural, Historical and Monuments Act (no. 6 of 1923), operating alongside the earlier law noted (see Whitelaw, 2005). After several metamorphoses, the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA, no. 25 of 1999) came into effect, and led to the establishment of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in 2000.

CRM Archaeology in Ghana

Archaeology in Ghana has a pretty long existence, beginning in the 1820s with amateur explorers and collectors of antique objects. Missionaries, journalists, geologists and engineers collected and recorded polished stone axes in their activities across the country. They also documented the art of women's hair styles (see Anquandah, 1982; Nkumbaan, 2010; Stahl, 1994), and these mark the first phase

of archaeology in Ghana. Secondly, the pioneering efforts to establish archaeology as a scientific discipline occurred in the 1930s and 40s with the appointment in 1937 of Thurstan Shaw as curator of the Achimota College Museum of Anthropology. This is coupled with his excavations at Achimota, Dawu, and Bosumpra Rock Shelter (Anquandah, 1982; Etse, 2003; Nkumbaan, 2010; Stahl, 1994). This was followed by the establishment of the Department of Archaeology in the early 1950s at the then University College of the Gold Coast, now University of Ghana. Prof. Oliver Davis was also appointed to head the Department around this time. He expanded archaeological research by conducting a nationwide survey and mapping of some 2000 or more archaeological sites from 1952 to 1966. The sites range from the Stone Age era to the Historic period. He also excavated the Stone Age sites of Ntereso, Limbisi, New Todzi, Christian Village, and Akan mausoleum sites of Ahinsan and Kokobin (Davis, 1971; Nkumbaan, 2010; Ozanne, 1971; Stahl, 1994). As noted earlier, when the government of Ghana embarked on the Akosombo Hydro Electric Dam Project, Oliver Davis directed the first ever CRM archaeological project dubbed the Volta Basin Research Project, between 1963 and 1966. This project was meant to salvage some cultural property before the flooding of the Volta Basin (Anquandah, 1982: 27; Stahl, 1994). Around the same period, A. W. Lawrence started recording or documenting the extant European forts and castles.

The third phase of the development of archaeology in Ghana is marked by the commencement of both graduate and undergraduate level teaching around 1963 by Peter Shinnie and Merrick Posnansky. The requirement of student's practical training resulted in the expansion of archaeological research. More so, funding was secured for large scale archaeological research including the West African Trade Project at Begho, the Gonja Archaeology Project, and a long term project in the Ashanti Region with the objective of understanding Asante origins and colonization of the forest (Nkumbaan, 2010: 85; Stahl, 1994: 58).

The last one and half decades have witnessed more of applied and developmental research. Some of these include the Krobo Mountain Research Project (Gblerkpor, 2011; 2010; 2008; 2005), The Salaga Archaeological Research Project (Okoro, 2003 a,b,&c), The Koma

land Archaeological Research Project (Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan, 2008; 2009; Insoll, Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan, 2011), The Bui Power Archaeological Research Project (Gavua and Apoh 2011b), and the Tongo Tengzug Archaeological Research Project (see Insoll, 2008, Insoll, Kankpeyeng and MacLean, 2007a,b; 2009). Details of these are dealt with in the proceeding sessions as case studies of CRM Archaeology Projects. However, despite not all the researchers involved with these projects have clearly indicated them as CRM projects.

In terms of the legislative backing to protect and conserve archaeological/heritage resources in Ghana, the under listed are worth noting.

1. Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast, established by an Ordinance in 1949. This provided for only the legal protection of the European trade forts and castles in Ghana.
2. In 1952, recommendations of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Britain on the forts and castles in Ghana culminated in the consolidation of the Ordinance of 1949 with the establishment of a Monuments Division of the Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast, responsible for restoring and maintaining the forts and castles.
3. In 1957 and upon attaining independence, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) Ordinance No. 20 was passed. Though it did not clearly define the functions of the Board, it expanded the scope of the Board to cover other traditional buildings in Asante and Northern Ghana.
4. The National Liberation Council Decree (N.L.C.D, 387) of 1969, now the National Museum Act (Act 387), and the Executive Instrument (EI 118) of 1969, dealing with the National Museum Regulations were the most elaborate in terms of defining not only what antique objects were in Ghana but also spelling out the duties of the GMMB.
5. In 1973, the National Museum regulations were revised into E I, 29, dealing with regulating the sale and export of antiquities.

Beyond these, there are a number of indigenous attitudes/policies which can play vital roles in heritage resource management in Ghana. Kankpeyeng and DeCorcse (2004) have noted such elements including

believe systems, oral accounts, taboos, sacred groves, days and places, clan totems, shrines, ancestor worship and/or veneration, festivals and other social institutions that complement formal legislation in the preservation of our heritage.

Some Case Studies of CRM Archaeology Projects in Ghana

Despite some early legislation relating to the protection of cultural/heritage resources, Ghana, has been rather slow to enforce such legal conservation measures. However, the significance of heritage to national development is seen to be phenomenal. As Sharer and Ashmore (1982: 590) have noted, “the motives for ... conservation efforts are humanistic and scientific, but they also have a very practical basis. Knowledge of the past fosters self-esteem and National Unity. It also fosters economic development: tourism, founded at least in part on the assumption that a well-documented and spectacular past, is a million-dollar business in some nations”.

A number of archaeological projects in Ghana within the last decade or so have some tenets of CRM archaeology. First, William Gblerkpor and Kodzo Gavua have since 2005 been working on the Krobo Mountain Site in the Greater Accra region of Ghana, a site noted for enormous presence of surface configurations in the form of potsherds, whole vessels, bottles and other broken glass objects, grinding stones and querns, and thousands of beads from the excavations. This site is important in Ghanaian history relating to contacts or encounters with the Europeans. The people currently living on the plains under the foot of the Mountain initially lived on top of it. In 1892, the British colonial administration forcefully evicted them from the mountain top for alleged acts of ritual murders/human sacrifices. The massive scatter of material remains on the surface at the site is indicative of how hurriedly the people vacated the site (see Gblerkpor, 2005). This site is in danger of losing the said features as Fulani headsmen have started grazing their cattle in the fields, destroying the terraces and surface features. Following the presentation of this research at forums including the media, conferences, and during the annual festivals of the local communities, a protection plan is being fashioned and a

private agency has also gotten interested in partnering the researchers and the traditional council to develop a major tourism attraction around the history and the site. A helicopter was provided for aerial photographs to be taken of the site, plans are afoot to develop an ultra-modern resort at the foot of the mountain. When this is completed, tourists will be given a guided tour to the top of the mountain to see the cultural materials that were left in-situ, as well as learn the history of the relations that existed between the people and the British. The resort will provide a good recreation or refreshing grounds after the fatigue of climbing up the mountain.

One other important CRM archaeological project that has been carried out relates to the Bui Power Project. The Government of Ghana had embarked on the construction of a Hydro Electric Power Dam at Bui for the generation of electricity. Like the Volta Basin Research Project, many sites within the basin of the Black Volta at Bui were most likely to be inundated by floods resulting from the dam construction, and therefore needed to be rescued. Despite initial hitches to the archaeological survey resulting from inadequate provisions in the legal framework for the sponsoring agencies to allocate sufficient funds for the archaeological survey before construction commenced, the archaeological work proved to be the one that brokered peace among the communities that were to be affected and the Bui Power Authority which had the mandate to prosecute the dam project (Apoah and Gavua, In Prep).

The affected locals had refused a directive to relocate from their original homes or settlement to a resettlement community that had been built by the Bui Power Authority, for construction of the dam to commence. Explanations of the possibilities of their communities getting flooded and they losing their lives and property fell on deaf ears. The intervention of archaeologists working on the project identified the reason why the people were reluctant in moving to be associated with the abandonment of their shrines, and ancestral spirits (burials of their forebears). Negotiations resulted in the performance of certain rituals, and the relocation of what was culturally important to the people to the resettlement site. It was this engagement between the communities and the archaeologists that paved way for a successful

relocation of the communities to the resettlement site. The project also documented and excavated a number of the sites that were going to be inundated, and so, providing information on the culture history of the area (Apoh and Gavua, In Prep.).

Similarly, archaeological research in Tongo-Tengzug in the Upper East Region of Ghana since 1998 has culminated in the development of tourism in the area. This development has culminated in the preservation of the natural landscape, shrines, and more importantly, unique architectural forms which are currently under consideration for listing on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites (see Insoll, Kankpeyeng and McClean 2007a, b, 2009). An attempt to deface the indigenous architecture with modern roofing materials has been curtailed by the researchers through community education, and thus preserving the heritage.

Also, the planned construction of a cultural village (Nkwantananso Cultural Village) at Techiman is the result of archaeological work in the area by Boachie Ansah (see Acheampong, 2009; Boachie Ansah, 2007). The cultural village will house a museum which will display the cultural remains from the excavations and ethnographic craft/art objects. It also has the potential to rejuvenate indigenous craft production in order to provide objects for sale to tourists.

The ultimate objective of the Koma Land archaeological research project in the West Mamprusi district of northern region is to construct a research station with residential places, a museum to exhibit the Koma terracotta traditions, a store room, and a conservation laboratory. It is known that the Koma terracotta figurine sites over the years have been plagued with massive looting and sale of the artifacts to antique dealers. The intervention of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, the researchers, educated opinion leaders of the area, and publication on Interpol Website blacklisting these objects as illicit trade items, that drastically scaled down the looting. This has ushered in more scientific surveys and excavation of partially looted and intact mounds in the area so as to generate some modicum of scientific data for the sites. The ultimate objective of the project will certainly open up the area to tourists (Kankpeyeng and Nkumbaan 2008, 2009; Nkumbaan, 2010).

The recognition of multi-national financial institutions, such as the World Bank, that there is the need for the conduct of cultural impact assessments as a condition for loans or grants given for extensive construction or earth moving activities is commendable. The Ghana Highways Authority as part of a World Bank requirement for a loan to rehabilitate the Kintampo-Paga highway, had to contract archaeologists to conduct cultural impact assessment on both axis of the road. This survey identified a number of shrines and archaeological sites that were likely to be affected by the construction (Boachie Ansah et al, 2010). One of the sites, the Nasia Iron Smelting site, identified during this survey has been excavated by a student of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies as part of his master's thesis (Mustapha, 2012).

Another rescue archaeological project has been carried out at Atimpoku (Adome/Small London) by Gavua and Apoh (2011a) on an ancient iron smelting site which came to light as the natives dug up mud to construct houses. This project has produced some of the earliest dates for the production of iron in Ghana and the sub-region, and thus adding greatly to the existing knowledge on the technology of metal working. Also important are the works of Okoro (2003a, b, &c.) in Salaga on indigenous water management systems, which seeks to inform policy makers on the sustainability of these ways as against modern interventions of bore-holes and pipe borne water supply. Mention must be made of the rehabilitation of the Danish fortress (Fredriksgave) at Sesemi near Abokobi in the greater Accra Region. This site has a history of European plantation settlements which are housed planters and slaves who could no longer be transported across the Atlantic because of the abolishment of the slave trade (see Bredwa-Mensah, 2002). The restored structure with a little museum now attracts a sizable number of tourists every year and thus benefiting the community in question.

These projects reflect the dynamics and purposes of cultural resource management archaeology as outlined in some earlier sessions of this paper. They not only deal with the preservation and rescue of cultural property from destruction, but also encompass the key issues of applied or development oriented archaeology.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted the basics of what cultural resource management archaeology entails. They provide insights into how it developed as a discipline that the Universities now teach. Its antecedents are traced to the Swedish Royal Proclamation of 1666, though its coherent development has roots in the United States. The core legislation that ensured a firm establishment of CRM, both in the United States and in Ghana have been noted. How archaeology and CRM archaeology began in Ghana has been examined. The various dimensions of the discipline of CRM archaeology as currently practiced in Ghana have been exemplified in some of the case studies presented. As reflected in the definitions, some of the projects were purely rescue missions like the Volta Basin Research Project, the Bui Power Project, and the Atimpoku Project. However, others such as the Ghana Highway Project and the West Africa Gas Pipeline project were contracts. Most of these projects have also factored development through tourism into the ultimate outcomes of the archaeology, which are a clear manifestation of what CRM archaeology purports to do and entails.

It is also clear that CRM is growth industry world-wide and holds the potential to expand archaeological job opportunities in Ghana. However this cannot be realized, unless the current legislation is revised to make it more mandatory and binding on development activities to conduct heritage impact surveys. The existing GMMB law, and the Environmental Assessment Regulation Act 1999 and the Mining Act do not cross reference one another; neither do the agencies in charge collaborate on impact assessment. A revision which factors into account the concept of the “destroyer pays”, and harmonizes the operations of the GMMB and Environmental Protection Agency, and other such stakeholders will improve opportunities for archaeologists in Ghana.

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the efforts of our colleagues Prof. Anquandah, and Dr. Apoh for the time spent in reading through the draft of this paper and making useful suggestions. I am grateful to my co-author, William

Gblerkpor for some of the reading materials used and the insights we shared on the various archaeology projects that show elements reflective of CRM. We also acknowledge our spouses and children as well as staff and students of the DAHS for their encouragement and moral support. Thank you all.

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Chapter 16

The Role of Museums in Education: The Case of the Museum of Archaeology, University of Ghana

Gertrude. A. M. Eyifa-Dzidzienyo

Introduction

The Museum of Archaeology is one of the few museums located at public Universities in Ghana. It is a teaching museum located in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon. The museum has its beginnings at Achimota College, an experimental educational institution that was opened in 1924 at Achimota, near Accra. A British archaeologist, Charles Thurstan Shaw, who was the first trained archaeologist to work in Ghana, began the museum collections by gathering artifacts unearthed during the construction of Achimota College. In 1927 Shaw opened a small museum at Achimota College to house the specimens, one of the first of such institutions in West Africa. Word spread, and missionaries, colonists, businessmen, academics and adventurers began sending artefacts to Shaw from across the continent. The museum displays were intended to be self-explanatory and demonstrative exhibits although they were not often used directly in teaching (Crimson 2001:234; Fogelman 2008:20).

From 1937-1945, Shaw, initiated a symbiotic relationship between archaeology and museums. He carried out the first scientific archaeological excavations and also collected diverse ethnographic materials from different parts of the country. All of these archaeological and ethnographic materials became part of the collections with which the Achimota College Museum of Anthropology was established with Thurstan Shaw as the curator (Anquandah 1997:3; Kense 1990:141). In 1951, the Achimota Museum was dissolved to give way for the establishment of the Department of Archaeology at the University College of the Gold Coast (present-day University of Ghana, Legon) in the same year. Then in 1952, the Achimota Museum collections

in their entirety were transferred to the Department of Archaeology, Legon for safekeeping. This was also the period in which the Ghana National Museum was being completed based partly on the ideas proposed by Julian Huxley, Max Gluckman, and Governor Alan Burns and later refined by the British Museum's H. J. Braunholtz (Anquandah 1997:3; Fogelman 2008:20).

According to Anquandah (1997:3), this transfer served as the nucleus around which the Museum of Archaeology grew. At the dawn of Ghana's independence in 1957, the government inaugurated the Ghana National Museum at Accra and a substantial portion of the Achimota College Museum Collection at Legon was transferred to the National Museum (Anquandah 1997:3; Myles 1989:125). The Museum of Archaeology has come a long way in the history of museums in Ghana and the study of archaeology as a discipline. It is opened to archaeology students, the university community, educational institutions of different levels and the general public. The museum is a repository of past and present excavated materials, surface finds and ethnographic materials from different parts of the nation. As a result, the archaeological objects, the core of the museum's collections, which reflect the cultural lifeways of Ghanaians is a good source of educative material in narrating the history of the nation. Whether the past of a people is great or humble, no nation can feel truly self-confident or self-conscious if it is uncertain about its past (Crimson 2001:236).

The Archaeology museum like other museums create awareness and deepen understanding of the past, as well as make collections from the past and present accessible to the public. The Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies' teaching museum is not the only teaching museum at the University of Ghana. Other departmental teaching museums like the Geology Museum, the Institute of African Studies Museum, the Ghana Herbarium, the Anatomy Museum, and the Biodiversity Centre hold teaching collections that serve not only the various departments but the university community and the public. Having departmental museums at universities is an effective educational tool for reaching out to the public on a range of issues relating to human past, present and the future.

What is a Museum?

The term ‘museum’ may mean “either the institution or the establishment or the place generally designed to select, study and display the material and intangible evidence of [human beings] and [their] environment” (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010:56; my emphasis). The professional definition of a museum most widely recognized today is still the one found in the Statutes of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). It states that:

“a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment” (ICOM 2007 cited in Desvallées and Mairesse 2010:57).

It has been observed that this ICOM definition replaced a previous definition that was used as the term of reference for over 30 years. It states that:

“a museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man [human beings] and his [their] environment” (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010:57; Singh n.d.:71) emphasis is mine.

The difference between these two definitions is that ICOM has identified and added intangible heritage as part of museum collections for exhibit. This is important because the intangibles give added meanings to the tangible heritage.

Museums have also been defined as “institutions (publicly or privately owned) which collect preserve and display objects (both natural and cultural) with the basic aim of entertaining, educating and providing materials for research on aspects of [humanity’s] heritage and development” (Momin and Okpoko 1990:157). Museums therefore give people opportunities to rediscover themselves (including their

natural resources) and to identify their place in the past and the role they can play in the contemporary world (Momin and Okpoko 1990:157). There are many more definitions of museums and they tend to lay more emphasis on their educational roles. The educational activities within the museums must be ready to provide a great variety of methods through which people can receive insights into and enjoyment of collections (Singh n.d.:71). In simple terms, a museum is a place where the materials and objects representing social, historical, technological and cultural life of a people are kept and exhibited for the benefit of current and future generations. Museums enhance sharing, understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of natural and cultural heritage.

Functions of Museums

Education is a key function of every museum irrespective of its type and size. Preservation (which includes the acquisition, conservation and management of collections), research and communication have been identified as three functions of a museum. Communication itself includes education and exhibition, undoubtedly the two most visible functions of museums (Mairesse and Desvallées 2010:20). According to Edson and Dean (1996:194), every museum has an educational responsibility to the public it serves. Museums offer a unique encounter with objects and ideas for people of many ages, interests, capabilities and backgrounds. Museums, as repositories of unique collections, are the ideal laboratories for social, scientific and cultural exchange (Edson and Dean 1996:198). The presence of objects that do not know the boundaries of language and literacy helps museums to be at an advantageous position compared to other public service agencies (Singh n.d.:71). Museums collect objects of scientific, aesthetic, cultural and historical importance; care for them; study them; exhibit and interpret them for purposes of public education and advancement of knowledge.

Museum Education

Museums have an important duty to develop their educational role to attract wider audiences. The educational activities in a museum can take

different forms. Museums are important centres for learning, whatever size or type (Ambrose and Paine 2006:9). Museum education can be defined as a set of values, concepts, knowledge and practices aimed at ensuring the visitor's development; it is a process of acculturation which relies on pedagogical methods, development, fulfillment, and the acquisition of new knowledge (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010:31). The meaning of museum education is that museums provide a learning situation in which the visitors experience learning. A learning situation is a condition or environment in which all the elements necessary for promoting learning are present (Singh n.d.:71).

Museums often provide unique resources for formal education and for informal learning at all levels. As learning centres, they provide opportunities to work with a wide range of natural and cultural heritage materials to which few other learning institutions are likely to have access (Ambrose and Paine 2006:9). For instance, the Institute of African Studies Museum located at the University of Ghana, Legon provides opportunity for learning about Ghanaian gold weights and the production process. The museum is an ethnographic museum and its current exhibition is on gold weights. The gold weights are modeled in different forms to portray aspects of Ghanaian culture such as proverbs. The Institute's gold weight exhibition provides a unique learning environment for visitors through the systematic display of gold casting processes and the thematic story the gold objects, pictures and their labels tell about everyday life. Learning has been defined as "an act of perception, interaction and assimilation of an object by an individual", which leads to an "acquisition of knowledge or the development of skills or attitudes". Learning relates to the individual way in which a visitor assimilates the subject (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010:32).

Learning experience is the mental or physical reaction one makes through seeing, hearing or doing the things to be learnt and through which one gains meanings and understanding of the materials to be learnt (Singh n.d.:71). The learning experience gained in a museum depends on the type of museum, how the exhibits appeal to an individual's senses (visual, tactile, creative and intuitive senses), and the way she or he reacts to or associates with the exhibits. At the University of

Ghana, a number of teaching museums located in the various departments facilitates teaching, learning and researching by making their collections accessible to visitors majority of whom are students and researchers. After reading and writing, a visit to the museum makes understanding easy and practical.

Ambrose and Paine have proposed the theory of Multiple Intelligences which suggests that all human beings use nine or more different intelligences to learn. These are 1) Linguistic: talking, writing, and reading. 2) Musical: melody, rhythm, playing music, singing. 3) Logical-mathematical: numbers, systems, logical thought, problem-solving. 4) Visual/spatial: how things look, imagination, creating images, using space. 5) Tactile/physical: doing, building, touching, moving (sports, dancing). 6) Interpersonal: communicating with others, rapport. 7) Intrapersonal: self-awareness, objectivity. 8) Intuitive: perceiving information not available to 'the senses'. 9) Creative: finding new solutions, new ideas. This highly influential approach has encouraged museums to use as many different techniques as possible, to appeal to as many of these intelligences as possible (Ambrose and Paine 2006:47-48). This theory among other theories proposed on how people learn have aided in varying teaching and learning techniques used in museum educational programmes that meet the different needs of audiences. The subsequent paragraphs under this section bring to light how different museums on University of Ghana campuses make learning at the University practical and enjoyable.

The Department of Earth Science has a Geology Museum that exhibit rock specimen and rock forming minerals, and illustrations of the earth crust and soil formation processes. The exhibits displayed in transparent showcases with simple object labels offer a learning experience that employs the visitor's visual, tactile and intuitive senses. The museum display deepens understanding of the natural processes the earth goes through.

The Biodiversity Centre located in the Department of Animal Biology and Conservation Science at Legon displays its collection of different animal specimen in a way that is totally different from an ethnographic museum. It's a science museum that preserves different animal species in skeletal form and fresh ones in formalin or alcohol

as specimen for education. In this museum, endangered and extinct animal species that are usually difficult to see are made accessible for learning and discovery. The Biodiversity Centre also conducts research in entomology and ecology. For this reason, it has also got a colourful collection of species of insects like beetles and butterflies. It's amazing to see such a huge collection of species of insects and how they have been classified. Some of the insects are ignored when encountered in daily life. However, in a museum setting, the Centre's collections appeal to the creative, imaginative, and visual senses of its visitors. The collection stimulates discussion on the wonders of nature.

Unlike the Geology and Biodiversity Museums, the Ghana Herbarium located at Legon, in the Department of Botany has a wide range of collections of dried plants that are stored in cabinets and made accessible for teaching, research and reference. It also preserves wood, fruit and seed samples. The Herbarium has plants classified, mounted on herbarium sheets and labeled for science education. A visitor learns about diverse floral species from different regions in the nation, their names and changes that have taken place. The plant species can be used to examine environmental changes in Ghana over a period of time.

The Anatomy Museum at the Korle-Bu campus of the University of Ghana preserves human parts in formalin and exhibits them in perspex for the education of medical students. The museum makes learning of the human anatomy visual, practical and easy to understand even without labels.

According to Singh (n.d.:73-74), a museum makes the whole world, the past, the present and the imagined; accessible to the visitor and supplement school education. From the above, it is clear that the teaching museums on Legon campuses complement the teaching and learning of the various disciplines, and make understanding easier. Singh makes a comparison of learning in schools and museums as shown in Table 16.1.

Table 16.1: Comparison of learning in schools and museums (from Singh n.d. :74)

Subject	School	Museum
1. Free choice	No	Yes
2. Instruction based on	Text	Object
3. Senses most used	Oral	Visual
4. Syllabus-Oriented	Yes	No
5. Formal assessment	Yes	No
6. Time Schedule	Yes	No
7. Learning	Linear Non-Spontaneous	Multi-Faceted Spontaneous

Education in the Museum of Archaeology, University of Ghana

A museum is considered as “a laboratory for teaching and learning by the public” (Edson and Dean 1996:193). This can be said to be applicable to the Museum of Archaeology at the University of Ghana, Legon. Due to the fact that the museum is situated in an Archaeology Department, all excavated materials, after they have been analysed, interpreted and published become part of the museum’s collection. The artifacts and objects are visual and tangible evidence of the heritage of Ghanaians and that is what the museum exhibits for the education of the public especially students. Unfortunately few teachers learn, as part of their training, about how to use museums in their teaching (Ambrose and Paine 2006:49).

The Museum of Archaeology displays ethnographic and archaeological materials in a manner that targets wider audiences although majority of its audience are students from the primary school level to the university level. At present, its exhibition is on the theme “Current Archaeological Research in Ghana.” The museum has exhibits on human evolution, artefacts from the Stone Age, cultural remains of the earliest farmers in Ghana, terracotta figurines from Northern Ghana, stone wares from Germany, indigenous pottery (both archaeological and ethnographic) European trade goods from excavated forts and

castles of Ghana, a diorama exhibition on iron smelting in Northern Ghana, and a wide variety of beads.

Thematically, exhibits are used with labels to tell stories. It begins by showing generally, how human beings evolved from apelike animals, and stone tools that were made and used depicting their intelligence level. It then narrows down to Ghana from prehistoric to historic period by showing evidence of permanent settlements and farming through the material remains of the earliest Kintampo farmers in Ghana. The creativity and intelligence of the earliest indigenes is depicted in Koma terracotta figurines from Northern Ghana during the prehistoric period. Indigenous encounter with Europeans and resistance to European rule is portrayed in excavated materials retrieved from forts and castles, and the Krobo Mountain. There are also exhibits on indigenous pottery and beads (both local and imported).

It is said that objects can make unique contribution to our understanding of the working of individuals and societies. In short, it can tell us more about ourselves (Singh n.d.:73). Objects in the museum such as beads, pottery, terracotta figurines, imported ceramics, stone tools, hominid skulls, metal tools, bottles, animal bones and shells among others have been interpreted to convey information in an accurate manner about the lifeways of humans from different cultural backgrounds (Fig 16.1 and 16.2). In this way, the objects enhance public knowledge, understanding, appreciation and value of archaeology as a discipline and archaeological materials as Ghana's heritage. In the museum context, these cultural objects are displayed to speak vividly to people and educate them about their culture and history. These same cultural objects may have been used in publications which are not accessible to the wider public. Also, it does not often make adequate mental impact in understanding the heritage of the nation as it does in a museum.



Fig.16.1: Excavated objects depicting Indigenous and European Contacts.



Fig.16. 2: Objects depicting Human Evolution.

Apart from the objects themselves, the vehicles for learning and transmission of information to the public varies. For example, introductory labels and short object-labels for object identification and understanding are written in simple English language for the benefit of people from different educational backgrounds (Fig.16.3). The straight-to-the-point object labels also attract the attention of the museum audience. Coloured contextual images/pictures are also used to supplement the objects and also bring the object to life. Self-tours by individuals are made possible because the labels are short, readable, understandable and supported by contextual pictures/images (Fig. 16.4). Some selected objects are often displayed in the open (out of case) in the museum and labeled “you can touch”. These handling collections which consist of beads, cowry shells, wooden dolls, a pot and earthen ware gives a tactile appreciation of museum objects. Majority of students who visit the museum enjoy touching and playing with these objects while learning at the same time (Fig.16.5).



Fig. 16. 3: Short and simple object labels with a picture contextualizing the use of an iron anklet.



Fig.16. 4: A visitor on a self-tour of the museum



Fig.16. 5: Students enjoying the museum's interactive collections.

Guided tours are often preceded by talks on specific topics or generally on what archaeology in Ghana is about and how archaeology can help understand our culture and history. These guided tours are often prearranged by primary and secondary school teachers who bring their students to the museum as part of their academic exercise (Fig.16. 6). For instance, Table 16.2 shows the prearranged guided

tours by different schools to the Museum of Archaeology from the year 2009 to 2012.



Fig16..6: Arrival of different groups of students and their teachers for a guided museum tour.

Table 16.2: Guided tours organised by schools to the Museum of Archaeology, University of Ghana

Date	School	Number of Students	Number of Teachers
1 October 2009	Ghana International School - Accra	90	10
2 October 2009	Wesley Girls' High School – Cape Coast	76	2
28 August 2010	LA District Junior Youth Fellowship - Accra	50	2
7 October 2010	Ghana International School - Accra	60	7
28 October 2010	Ghana International School - Accra	60	7

Date	School	Number of Students	Number of Teachers
22 November 2011	GHANATA Senior High School – Dodowa	250	2
24 February 2012	Dream Exploration Tours Limited (organised Junior High School Students from Ho Municipality)	300	2
7 March 2012	Dream Exploration Tours Limited (organised Junior High School Students from Cape Coast)	180	17
7 March 2012	MEGAtask Media (organised Junior High Schools in Ho Municipality of the Volta Region)	100	2
16 March 2012	Dream Exploration Tours Limited (organised Junior High School Students from Ho Municipality)	180	2
3 April 2012	S – TEE High School – Legos Nigeria	20	3
24 May 2012	Delcam Senior High School - Adenta	150	2
24 October 2012	Ghana International School - Accra	60	7
25 October 2012	Ghana International School - Accra	60	7
9 November 2012	Lincoln Community School - Accra	36	2

When such groups of students arrive in their numbers, they are first warmly welcomed by the curator or the museum assistant. The students and their teachers are then sent to the Department's seminar room to sit and relax. The curator then briefly introduces them to

Archaeology, the work of the archaeologists and what the museum has exhibited. Often times, the students ask a lot of questions about what they have learnt in class and wanted more clarification on. Such sessions have been observed to be very interactive and beneficial to both teachers and students (Fig. 16.7 and 16. 8). After the interactive talk session, the students together with their teachers are divided into smaller groups and given a guided tour of the museum. They are often fascinated by the objects which they may be seeing for the first time (Fig.16.9 and 16.10). Seeing the objects always trigger more questions which deepens their learning and understanding.



Fig.16.7: Students and their teachers listening to a talk prior to the guided tour of the museum



Fig. 16.8: Students seated at the Department's Seminar room listening to a talk prior a museum guided tour

The role of the museum is often emphasized through archaeology outreach programmes. This is often done after major excavation projects and special events like the Legon Archaeology Students Association (LASA) week celebration that bring visitors to the museum. As part of the week celebration, the archaeology students visit secondary schools to introduce them to archaeology as a discipline. They also invite the students and their teachers to the Department for a symposium after which they are taken on a guided tour of the museum.



Fig. 16.9: A smaller group waiting to enter the museum



Fig. 16.10: Students on a guided tour of the museum

Lastly, the museum also holds temporary exhibitions. The value of temporary exhibitions for a museum is that they provide change and variety, and can focus on collections or topics not otherwise presented in the museum's displays. They may also allow the museum to extend coverage of a topic or subject that has only limited coverage in displays and provide opportunities to present material from reserve collections (Ambrose and Paine 2006:64). The most recent of the museum's temporary exhibitions that drew a huge number of audience was on Ghanaian textile "Fabric of a Nation: Textiles and Identity in Ghana" (March-July 2007). This was organized in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence. In addition, a "Football in Ghana: People, Places and Social cohesion" (January-February 2008) exhibition was organized during the African Cup of Nations Football in commemoration of old footballers. The Museum of Archaeology received a lot of public attention through these temporary exhibitions and was able to educate Ghanaians on things around them that they are easily ignored.

Conclusion

The Museum of Archaeology is the pride of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana and the nation. It has a lot of potential in educating the Ghanaian public and foreign visitors on the history and culture of Ghana and archaeology in Ghana. The museum's collections and exhibits are Ghana's material heritage through which various communities of people can identify and understand themselves, their world and appreciate their history. These museum objects which represent the technological, aesthetic, cultural, social, economic and political aspects in the history of Ghana are major sources of education that complements the written histories learnt through formal education.

The multi-faceted means of learning in the Museum of Archaeology has the potential of opening up new research opportunities that would add to knowledge and deepen understanding and appreciation of Ghanaian and African heritage. It would also increase students' interest in the study of archaeology and introduce some to the museum profession. More educational facilities such as audio and visual

equipments, picture books, leaflets, newsletters and museum publications could be added to the existing educational vehicles to further enhance learning by people of different educational backgrounds.

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Chapter 17

Archaeology and Sociopolitical Engagements in Ghana: Experiences from the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Project

William Narteh Gblerkpor and Samuel Nilirmi Nkumbaan

Introduction

Ghana has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number and scope of community archaeology (Brendan 2010:75; Jameson and Baugher 2007:4; Little 2007) projects across the country during the last decade (Insoll 2008:9; Gavua 2005; Gavua and Apoh 2011a). By 2012, more than a dozen of such projects were being conducted by both Ghanaian and Western scholars. These include but not limited to the Krobo Mountain Archaeological project, codirected by the author and Dr. Kodzo Gavua (Gblerkpor 2008); the Koma Land Archaeological project, led by Dr. Benjamin Kankpeyeng, Mr. Samuel N. Nkumbaan, and Dr. Timothy Insoll (Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and Nkumbaan 2011); the Atimpoko project led by Drs. Kodzo Gavua and Wazi Apoh (Gavua and Apoh 2011), the Bui dam salvage archaeology project (Apoh, et. al 2012; Apoh and Gavua In Prep; Gavua and Apoh, 2011a) and Ann Stahl's Banda Project (Stahl 2001). Even more noteworthy is an apparent concomitant greater awareness and appreciation of archaeology among the people of the project areas during the same period. This enthusiasm is partly manifested in a number of ways, including increased enrollment of Ghanaians into graduate programmes in archaeology at institutions both at home and abroad, increased reportage of archaeology related issues in the media, and expanded professional partnerships and collaborative projects between archaeologists and local communities.

But is this growth sustainable? How can archaeologists researching in Ghana contribute to the sustenance of this growth? Why is community archaeology on the rise in Ghana? What are the benefits and challenges of community archaeology? The purpose of this essay

is to highlight the recent surge in community archaeology projects in Ghana, and to discuss the associated growing public interest in archaeology and heritage matters in the country. In addition, the paper seeks to examine plausible ways by which this growth could be sustained. In this regard, the authors discuss current perspectives in the archaeology of Ghana, particularly as exemplified by the University of Ghana faculty-led research projects. They are also of the opinion that through community archaeology, the Ghanaian public and policy makers would see the need to pass the newly proposed Museums Bill. It is hoped that this essay will stimulate dialogue among stakeholders, which may lead to a clearer definition of the perspectives, expectations and goals of archaeology in Ghana.

Archaeology in the University of Ghana: Current Perspectives and the Way Forward

News of the closing of some archaeology and museum studies programmes in some universities in the United States due to funding cuts alarmed many practitioners in the field. As a result, any signs of growth in the archaeology in Ghana should be pleasing to archaeologists and other heritage management professionals working here, particularly faculty, staff, and students of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies (DAHS), University of Ghana. It should also be noted that this growth is not accidental; it appears to have been stimulated by recent transformations carried out in the department.

At the onset of the 21st century, the department undertook restructuring activities in order to reposition itself and make the discipline more relevant to the socioeconomic needs of the country. These changes were inevitable, given that many departments in the university were revising their curricula, orientation, activities, objectives and goals so as to justify their existence and to also meet students' demands for employable programs. Other factors that inspired the transformations included the fast growing cultural tourism sector, acute shortage of museum professionals, and the lack of heritage training institutions in the country. What has been the nature and impact of these transformations? First and foremost, one needs to consider the academic programming of DAHS. The curricula for the Bachelor's, Master of

Philosophy and Doctoral programmes were revised, and a new Master of Arts in Museum Studies degree was introduced. In addition, the previous designation of the department was changed from the “Department of Archaeology” to the “Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies”. These changes resulted in a sharp increase in graduate student enrollments, for example, from a previous high of three students to seven graduate students. Although this coincided with similar increments in undergraduate intakes across the university, the same could not be said of the graduate programmes in other departments (including the history, classics, and philosophy Departments).

Another point to consider is in the purview of social activities. For instance, in 2006, the Department successfully organized a three-day major conference under the theme, “Archaeology and Heritage Management in Ghana” (Miles 2007:30). This meeting brought together major stakeholder institutions from across the nation and beyond (Fig. 17. 2). The event was well publicized by the major media houses of the nation. Many more of such social and academic activities followed. In 2007, the DAHS mounted the “Textile and Identity in Ghana” exhibits, which were hosted simultaneously in Ghana and the British museum, United Kingdom. This was designed to commemorate Ghana’s Golden jubilee. In 2008, an exhibit titled “Football in Ghana: People, Places and Social Cohesion” was also mounted in the Archaeology Museum at Legon. Finally, in 2010, an exhibit titled “Current Archaeological Research in Ghana” was also mounted. Following these successful successive collaborative exhibitions, the department started to attract large numbers of patrons and admirers from both the university community and beyond. For instance, the Public Affairs Directorate of the university was constantly sending their guests to the Archaeology Museum at the Department as part of their hospitality treat for their visitors. Though no scientific study was conducted to ascertain the effect of these activities on the enrollment numbers, these events without doubt had positive impact on peoples’ perception of the discipline of archaeology in the country.

Furthermore, to ensure that the academic standard was raised alongside the rising student numbers, the department embarked on an aggressive recruitment exercise. Between 2003 and 2012, more than

a dozen new members of faculty were appointed and three retired faculty retained. These include the nation's first two Ghanaian female archaeologists (Gertrude Aba Eyifa and Joyce Dartey) to join the faculty. During this same period, at least five visiting professors, including Timothy Insoll, Raymond Silverman, Alexander Wilson, and Samuel Ogundele, spent between six and twenty-four months teaching and researching at the Department. Aside from bringing new knowledge and research material, these additions made it possible for younger and non-PhD faculty to pursue their doctoral degree programmes by off loading their teaching duties. Through the blending of young and experienced faculty, coupled with increased graduate admissions, the department also aggressively embarked on mentoring programmes to improve its academic standing and output.

A vigorous campaign was waged in order to build new partnerships and strengthen existing partnerships with local and international institutions. This was meant to provide local and international training opportunities for senior undergraduate and graduate students as well as early career faculty. The outcome of this drive was a drastic increase in collaborative archaeological and museum research projects with various institutions. Some of these include, 1) the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, 2) Yilo Krobo (KMAP) project and the British Museum (Textile and Identity in Ghana Exhibition, 2007); 3) the Museum Studies Master's Program with support from the University of Michigan and Visiting Professor, Raymond Silverman; (4) the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester (Visiting Professor, Timothy Insoll), 5) the funding of the Leventis Digital Resource Center in DAHS by the Leventis Foundation; 6) DAHS and the University of Copenhagen Collaboration (the Ghana-Denmark Archaeological Project sponsored by DANIDA), and (7) Funding support for the 2006 Archaeology and Heritage Conference by the World Bank, Accra Office, and the British High Commission/British Council, Accra. These partnerships have contributed and continue to contribute to the Department's capacity building initiatives.

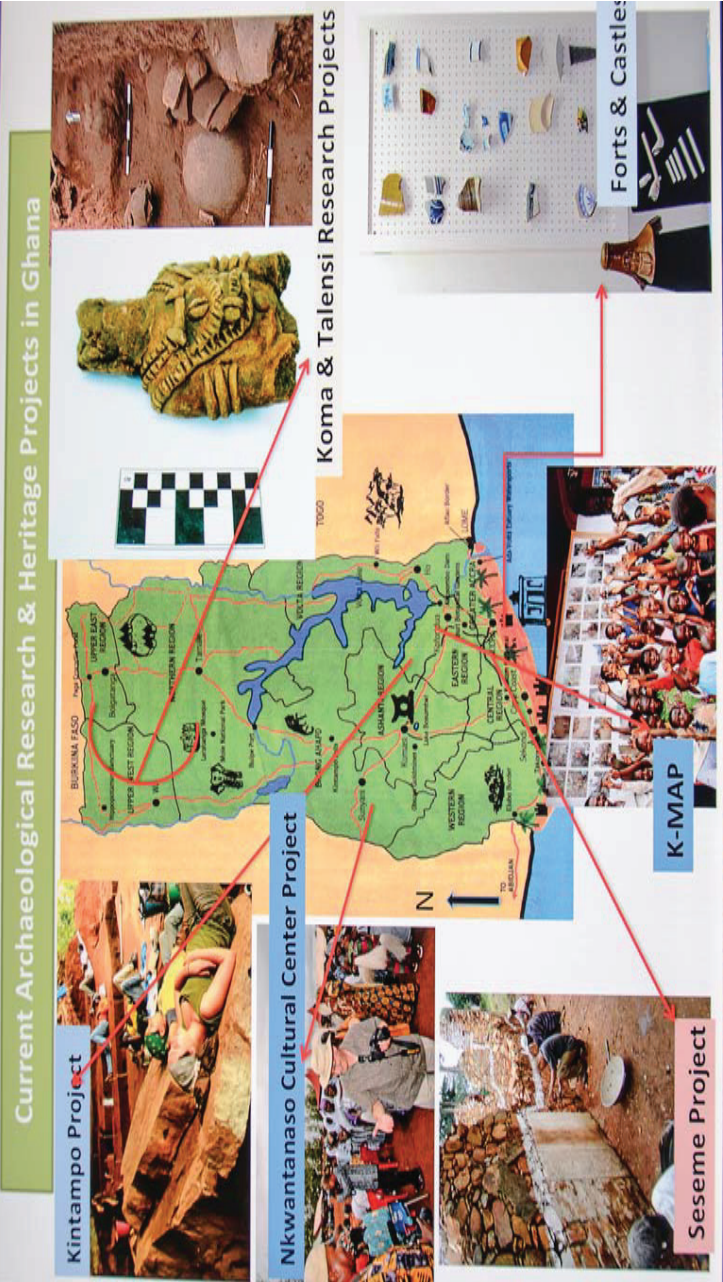


Figure 17.1: Samples of ongoing Archaeological Research and Heritage Studies Projects in Ghana

A major aspect of these restructurings has been a change of perspective in the field of archaeology. Notably, there has been a shift from a “scientific”-like perspective of archaeology to a broader community archaeology. This move is quite consistent with global developments in the field (Brendan 2010:75; Jameson and Baugher 2007: 3). The term community archaeology is used here to refer to archaeological approaches that emphasize community engagement and/or involvement in running archaeological projects that have direct bearing on descendant groups. In such cases, the researcher is expected to engage the custodians of the site during the creation of the research design, planning, funding, execution and dissemination phases. A conscious application of research results for the benefit of contemporary communities must be emphasized (Stottman 2010: 4,7). This approach encourages the combination of active community-engagement, civic archaeology and advocacy in addition to meeting the traditional goals of the discipline (Jameson and Baugher 2007; Little and Shackel 2007; Sabloff 2008; Stottman 2010). On the other hand, the “scientific” archaeologist perceives and practices archaeology as if it were purely a natural science discipline, such as chemistry, which is usually conducted in a laboratory-like context. Though this dichotomy does not strictly apply in Ghana, since many researchers operate in the margins, it is clear that until recently, most of the archaeologists tended to have a positivist perspective of archaeological practice in the country. Such archaeologists tended not to feel obliged to have any direct social responsibility to the communities or society, except where human-subject ethical requirements are concerned. Typically, their audiences do not extend beyond academia. This mode of knowledge dissemination is not preferred but it does not promote the public image of the discipline in less developed nations like Ghana, where archaeology and heritage issues are unpopular. Consequently, it seems reasonable to conclude that community archaeology is one of the surest ways in which archaeological studies can be promoted in Ghana.

The Great Heritage Debate: the Quest for a National Heritage Law for Ghana

In spite of modest gains in the field of archaeology, some faculty members and graduate students at Legon, doubt the sustainability of the current rate of growth of archaeology and heritage research in Ghana. They often cite the absence of a functioning heritage law as the source of their pessimism. Moreover, since 2005, past governments have failed to even table the revised version of the bill; i.e., the *National Liberation Council Decree/ N.L.C.D 387*, for a parliamentary debate and consideration. The draft bill has still not been passed. Fortunately, a new effort led by the Executive Director of Ghana Museums and Monuments Board Dr. Zagba Oyorley, is currently focused on the revision of the draft. A key element of the draft bill requires companies engaged in earth-moving construction activities (including mining and road contractors) to allocate 0.001% of their project budget into a national fund for use for archaeological survey, salvage archaeology, and other related heritage management programmes. More so, despite efforts by the department to drum support for the passage of the bill, it is yet to see the light of day. Therefore, there is no effective law to monitor the activities of mining and construction companies whose activities are destroying important sites such as Wodoku (Boachie-Ansah 2008) and Ladoku in the Accra Plains. Additionally, there is no policy to regulate the conduct, management, and funding of heritage research activities in the country. Nevertheless, like many others, we believe that even without it, the experts should be able to sustain and even accelerate the current surge in archaeology in Ghana. But how can this goal be achieved? This is where community archaeology assumes prominence (Little 2007). Similarly, it can also promote awareness about how Ghana's cultural resources have significance in the present (Jameson and Baugher 2007:4; Stottman 2010:2-3; <http://www.ncf.edu/pal>). Thus, by approaching several of its research projects from a public archaeology perspective, the DAHS stimulated a significant surge in awareness and appreciation of the discipline in recent times.

Unlike traditional or “scientistic” archaeology, community archaeology emphasizes the use of public education, entertainment, and

outreach programs, as well as the mass media for disseminating research results. Its primary goal is to promote socioeconomic development through archaeological heritage tourism, and the preservation of these archaeological and historical resources. Of course, this is in addition to the cardinal goals of archaeology, which includes the conduct of scientific research and publication of academic papers for scholarly audiences. Thus public archaeology advocates that as archaeologists we must explore our unique position as diplomats, negotiators, activists, advocates, and commissioners of truth and reconciliation (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007) to resolve contemporary social, economic, or political issues where we study. Particularly, in communities such as Krobo where descendants of the people we study, trust and expect us to not only be their partners but as advocates as well (Sabloff 2008; Stottman 2010). For example, members of the Krobo community expect us to get the national government to prevent looters from destroying their ancestral home—Krobo Hill, and this reflects in many other communities in Ghana.

This approach to archaeology might not be new to many readers from countries where cultural resource management and cultural tourism have been practiced for decades. However, Ghana has until recently made very little use of decades of archaeological research for conscious sociopolitical or economic interventions in the communities they study. But even more importantly, it must be acknowledged that archaeology; particularly historical archaeology, now advocates a move beyond this traditional cultural resource management-perspective of public archaeology (Sabloff 2008; Stottman 2010). Why this U-turn towards community archaeology? Perhaps, the increasing demands for universities and other state-funded research institutions to make their research and academic programmes relevant to the social, economic, and political needs of the communities where we study or live may be one of the reasons for this change. Similarly, since the society's and tax payers demand returns from their investments in research institutions and university programmes, archaeologists are resorting to community archaeology as an effective approach to making the discipline more socially relevant, especially in areas where native populations or descendant groups exist (Brendan 2010:75).

Sustainability: “Legislation-First” Versus “Beyond Legislation” Approaches of Thought

Despite the recent gains in DAHS and the expansion in the number of projects as well as a gradual rise of interest in archaeology and heritage matters in the country, some members of faculty are doubtful of the sustainability of the current trend. These scholars are of the view that the current gains would soon dissipate unless the revised museum bill is passed. Their central argument, which we term “legislation-first approach” is that a comprehensive heritage policy must precede all other developments in the cultural heritage sector of Ghana. They insist that until the revised National Museum bill was passed, any investments in the field are wasteful, premature, and unsustainable. They often cite the heritage policy regimes of advanced countries like the United States (for example, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966). Following this understanding, several attempts were made by the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies to put pressure on the leadership of Ghana’s Parliament in order to get the bill passed. However, the submission of petitions, use of “lobbyists” and student support pressure groups did little to convince the leadership of parliament and the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture to even table the draft bill for debate.

Furthermore, it is erroneous to think that effective heritage laws always precede successes in the heritage sector. In the United States for example, heritage laws such as the famous National Historic Act of 1966 did not follow a straight path- as being a product of smooth political decisions. Instead, it resulted from a culmination of long efforts of individuals, communities, academic institutions and politicians. This collaboration could not have been possible without fostering awareness and appreciation of the values of specific heritage resources in States like New York and Washington (Taboroff and Cook 1993). Recently, Ms. Moji Okuribido, the Regional Advisor for Culture, UNESCO Cluster Office, Accra, noted that the low level of awareness of the value of cultural heritage resources as development tools is responsible for Ghana’s inability to ratify UNESCO Conventions of 2005 and 2007 (<http://entertainment.myjoyonline.com/>

pages/news/201104/64582.php). Also, Taboroff and Cook (1993) have rightly stated that it is “only an awareness of the value of cultural heritage to the society at large grows will protection and preservation become feasible”. This is particularly true of Ghana, given that the awareness levels and recognition for the discipline and associated fields are low in the country. For instance, of the over 30 public and private tertiary institutions in Ghana, including 5 public universities, there is only one archaeology and museum studies program. These are offered at DAHS. This means that a population of 23 million people (2010 national population census estimate) relies on this single department, which at a point in the past had less than three faculty members to research, teach, and undertake public education. Hence, if statistics are anything to go by, it is obvious that the impact of archaeology has until recently been negligible.

Critics of public archaeology claim it does not promote the scientific agenda of the scholar involved and probably the scholarly image of the discipline. Contrary to this opinion, there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that one could effectively combine robust scholarship with public archaeology (see Little 2007). Moreover, this approach promotes the discipline among both non-archaeologists and archaeologists. So it is important that in addition to satisfying scholarship, we do not leave behind those who constitute the larger community at the local and national levels. As indicated earlier, with a population of over twenty million people, with less than 20 local archaeologists coupled with a widespread low level of awareness of archaeology, it is only prudent that we approach the management of archaeological projects (where applicable) from a more social than a “scientistic” perspective. Indeed, as already mentioned, the far-reaching United State’s National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, was initiated by concerned citizens who raised public awareness of the value of heritage resources in their communities through non-scholarly media (rather than scholarly publications).



Figure 17.2: A group photograph showing representatives of stakeholders drawn from various local and international institutions to discuss the formation of Ghana Heritage Council, 2006

Archaeology and Sociopolitical Engagement: the case of the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Project (KMAP)

“Confined to the narrow limits of their mountain, the Krobos developed a problem. They were afraid of a population explosion. Without modern birth control methods, they ruthlessly kept down the race by killing off some of the girls” (the Washington Post, 1966). This is an extract from an article titled “Krobos’ Proscribed Rites for Girls Are Modified”. The article discusses *dipo*, a puberty rite for young Krobo females (see Steegstra 2005), in relation to comments made by the paramount chief of Many Krobo about the resilience of *dipo* despite its prohibition by the British in 1892. Clearly, the newspaper reporter was simply repeating stories told by Christian missionaries; because other European reports (Adams 1908; Bell 1893) contradict this assertion. The purpose for citing this quote is to at least remind us all, especially archaeologists, that the past is still politically and socially active in the contemporary world. Hence, it is in cases like this that the archaeologist is best placed to reeducate and contribute

to contemporary development in the community we study (Little 2007:1).

This section examines the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Project (KMAP) and discusses how such projects are making significant contributions to the development of archaeology of Ghana. The benefits and challenges we experienced using a community archaeology approach will also be discussed. The KMAP is an ongoing partnership project between the University of Ghana and the Yilo Krobo Traditional Council. The project focuses on how as archaeologists, our relationship with the local descendant communities and other stakeholders evolved into a long-lasting relationship within which the KMAP operates. Since its establishment in 2007, the project co-directors William Narteh Gblerkpor and Dr. Kodzo Gavua have worked together with the Krobo Traditional Councils, youth groups, pupils, and other interest groups (e.g., Krobo Hill Resorts) in the planning and execution of the project. For example, aside from discussing the research designs and providing material support for the project, we are involved in the planning committee that planned the annual festivals in the area and also provide guidance for development of activities at the Krobo Hill sites. The descendants have also provided alternative interpretations of some archaeological finds we recovered from the site. This is a slow move towards a postcolonial (Schmidt 2009) approach to archaeological interpretation that for decades remained the sole privilege of Westerners and university staff in Ghana. We do these so as to ensure that we attain our scientific objectives and the communities also derive their economic and social benefits from the site.

The KMAP, in summary, sought to: i) provide archaeological insights into settlement and cultural developments at the Krobo Mountain site between c. A.D 1300 and 1892 – Krobo culture history; ii) provide research and advisory support for local government of the Krobo area in their bid to develop the ancestral settlement site, i.e., the Krobo Mountain into a heritage tourist attraction; iii) serve as a flagship archaeology project in Ghana, with the aim of it being used to stimulate greater awareness and appreciation of the relevance of the discipline to community and national development.

In order to achieve these objectives, we adopted a community archaeology approach to the project. Also, the unique political situation in the Krobo area makes our community engagement inevitable. For example, a recent exchange of emails between a secretary to one of the chiefs in Krobo and I highlights this situation:

dear sir this is the secretary to Nene ... divisional chief of ... and we will like to seek advice from you on how to get the map or plan on the divisions of ... on the krobo mountain . we have a land at the mountain site but we dont have any plan on it so we are begging you to help us get the map or site plan of the people of ... on the mountain or can u please give me your personal number so that we can talk to each other . hope to hear from u soon thank you. (Received August 30, 2010).

I replied (sent on September 2, 2010 but not included here) to the letter and the secretary followed up with another response:

hello sir i have seen all that u said but let me explain something to you . what we are looking for is during the settlement on the plains around the mountain it was divided among the divisions like djebiam susu/piengua and the rest that is what we want to know where the ... portion or land is or can you please give us direction to the right person for help thank you very much and may God bless you. (Received September 2, 2010).

To protect the identity of the other party, I decided to censor portions of the emails. In the same vein, I left out my replies as well. In all, we exchanged a total of eight emails within a span of a month. Efforts to play my part in this case is still ongoing, there is nowhere to run.

In addition to planning the project with the local authorities, we also run a number of practical field schools at the site and in the town as part of our ways of opening up the discipline to all categories of people in order to increase awareness of our practices. Students from some of the major High Schools in Krobo are often invited to join, either, our annual practical field schools or to participate various photographic exhibitions (Figs. 17.3 and 17.4). Another significant aspect of our project is the prolific use of popular media for the dissemination of our project activities and the sharing of research results. For instance,

between 2007 and 2010, activities of the KMAP have been discussed on both local and national FM and television stations. Similar presentations were also held at various social and academic forums elsewhere in Ghana. The use of the mass media for the sharing of information about the project to make it more accessible to millions of Ghanaians who rarely have knowledge of the field or have access to academic papers associated with “scientistic” archaeology. A couple of academic papers have also been produced. These include “Material Culture and Ethnic Identity: the case of Krobo, Ghana (Gblerkpor 2011) “Current Archaeological Research at the Krobo Mountain Site, Ghana” (Gblerkpor 2008) “Archaeological Indications of Past lifeways on the Krobo Mountain, Ghana” (Gblerkpor 2010). Many more academic papers are expected over the next couple of years, including my Ph.D dissertation project (“The Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal”: An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Study of Anti-Colonial Identity in Krobo, Ghana). Indeed, the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Research Project has taken the perspective and practice of archaeology from the purely “scientistic” realm, which was characteristic of previous decades, to the sphere of community archaeology.

Why did the research team adopt a community-engaged public archaeology for the KMAP? A number of factors made this approach inevitable. The Krobo Mountain, ancestral home of the Krobo people of southeastern Ghana still constitutes the single most important landmark of the ethnic and cultural identity of the group (Adams 1893; Bell 1908; Steegstra 2005:33). Notably, two polities: Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo lay claim to the northeast and southwest portions respectively. As a result, from the onset, the research team had to negotiate with these two groups in order not to renew old disputes. But most importantly, there was the need to use our work to promote dialogues that serve the interest of the archaeologists as well as that of the descendant communities. These and other factors, which could not be discussed here due to page limitation, have motivated us to employ community-engaged archaeology in Krobo.

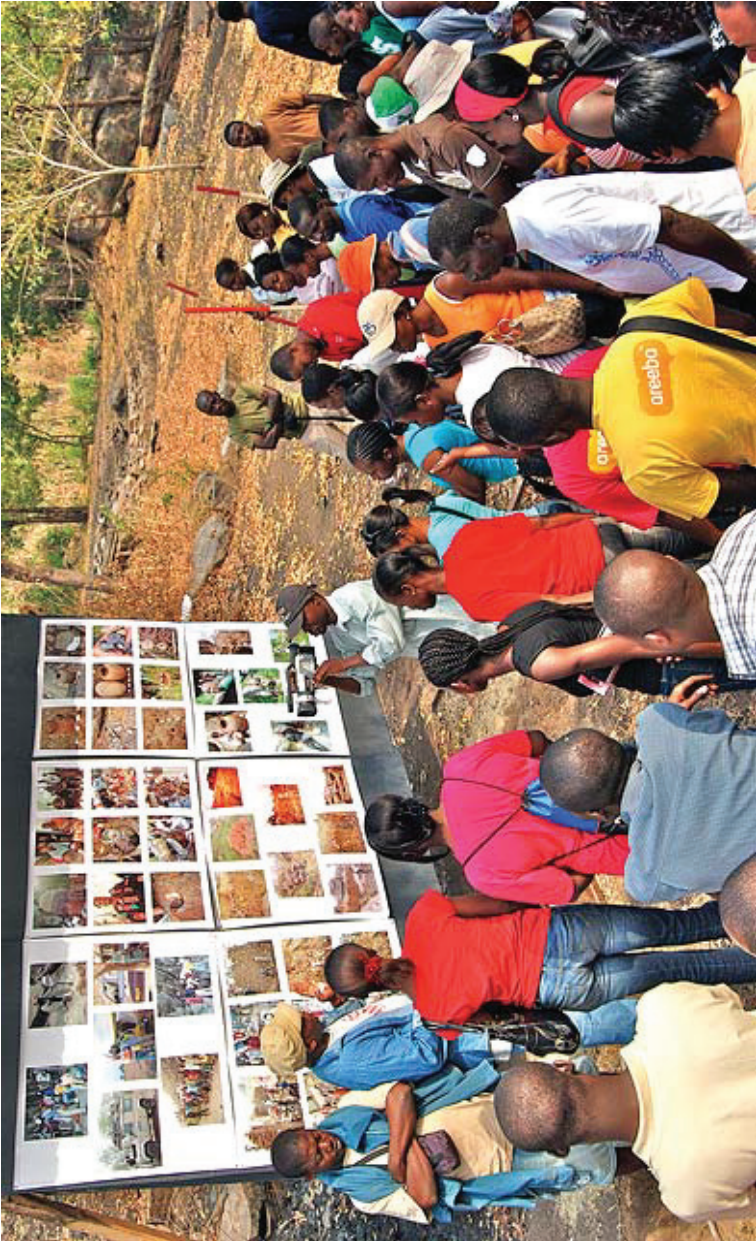


Fig. 17.3: Co-Director of KMAP, Kodzo Gavua briefing a group of Archaeology students of the University of Ghana during the 2009 field school at the Krobo Mountain site.



Figure17. 4: A section of visitors at a Photo Exhibition on K-MAP organized at the 2009 AnnualKloy-osikplemi Festival of the Yilo Krobo Traditional Area held at the base of the Krobo Mountain Site

Conclusions

This paper shows that community archaeology is on the rise in Ghana. Unfortunately, it is obvious that the desire of Ghanaian archaeologists and their foreign partners to have a new national Museums Bill passed is not shared by the politicians. Like in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, lack of awareness and appreciation of archaeology and associated disciplines poses the greatest challenge to heritage management and preservation in Ghana. Fortunately, however, the case of the National Historic Preservations Act of 1966 of the United States shows that community efforts do increase awareness and appreciation of heritage resources, a key ingredient in winning political support for such national heritage bills. Until we redirect our focus to making the practice of archaeology socio-politically active and economically relevant, the recognition and meaningful appreciation of the discipline would forever elude us. It is clear that besides the presence of an up-to-date heritage policy, through engagement, prompt sharing of research findings, and public education the current growth in the field of archaeology and heritage management in Ghana could be sustained and perhaps accelerated. Finally, by conducting archaeological projects like the Krobo Mountain Archaeological Project, greater awareness about the value of archaeology and heritage resources could be created in the communities where we work. Most likely, this will eventually encourage the country's legislators to pass the stalled national heritage bill that could ultimately help protect our sites from destruction as well as regulate and guide the practice and management of archaeological projects and heritage matters in the country.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the co-director of the KMAP, Dr. Kodzo Gavua and the staff and students of the University of Ghana who have participated in the activities of the project. My gratitude also goes to my sponsors, International Fellowship Programme, Ford Foundation. I am grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for awarding me a travel grant in 2010 when I first presented a version of this paper in Dakar, Senegal. Finally, wish to thank the chiefs and people of Krobo for their great collaboration and support for the KMAP.

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This collection of essays on archaeology and heritage studies is authored by local and expatriate scholars who are either past or current practitioners in archaeological work in Ghana. The subject matter covered includes the history and evolution of the discipline in Ghana; the method and theory or 'how to do it' in archaeology, field research reports, and syntheses on findings from past and recent investigations. The eclectic or multidisciplinary strategy has been the research vogue in Ghanaian archaeology recently, and this is reflected in the various chapters. The essays engage with current theoretical trends in global archaeology and also focus on the role and status of archaeology as a discipline in Ghanaian society today. Archaeology is a relatively 'novel' subject to many in Ghana. This Reader will, therefore, be a huge asset to local students and experts alike. Foreign scholars will also find it very useful.



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ISBN 978-9988-8602-3-3



9 789988 860233